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ABSTRACT

The report is the result of a study that investigated the extent to which Mexican American students in 9 independent school districts in metropolitan San Antonio, Texas, were afforded equal educational opportunities. The districts were Alamo Heights, East Central, Edgewood, Harlandale, North East, Northside, San Antonio, South San Antonio, and Southwest. Three areas of education were investigated: (1) Anglo overrepresentation on school boards and professional staff, along with ethnic isolation of Mexican American students; (2) disparities between Mexican American and Anglo schools in terms of financial resources, teacher qualifications, and physical facilities; and (3) the impact of inadequate education on Mexican American children. The study revealed the existence of ethnic isolation and the inequality of educational opportunity for Mexican American students. Included in the report are tables of statistical findings. [Not available in hard copy due to marginal legibility of original document.] (EJ)

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STAFF REPORT

A STUDY OF EQUALITY OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY FOR MEXICAN AMERICANS IN NINE SCHOOL DISTRICTS OF THE SAN ANTONIO AREA.

[1968]

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I. INTRODUCTION

This study examines the extent to which Mexican American students in nine independent school districts 1/ of the metropolitan area of San Antonio, Texas are afforded equal educational opportunities. 2/ These districts are: Alamo Heights, East Central, Edgewood, Harlandale, North East, Northside, San Antonio, South San Antonio and Southwest 3/ (Figure 1). In the four districts of predominantly Mexican American enrollments--San Antonio, Edgewood, Harlandale and South San Antonio--a sizable proportion of the inhabitants live in relative poverty. Attention is particularly focused on San Antonio and Edgewood school districts because they epitomize the problems of Mexican Americans in the San Antonio school system.

San Antonio Independent School District (SAISD) occupies most of the central, developed part of the city. It contains about 45 percent of the enrollment of the nine school districts. Mexican Americans make up almost 60 percent of the SAISD enrollment, Anglos slightly more than 25 percent, and Negroes about 15 percent. Most of the Mexican American students are concentrated in schools in the central and west side of the district. Anglos attend schools in the northern and eastern sections of the district known as Los Angeles Heights, Hot Wells and W. W. White. Most Negro students are in a small poverty pocket in the northeastern part of the district. The Mexican American population in SAISD has a low median family income; more than half live below the poverty level. Many reside in old, dilapidated and deteriorating housing.

Edgewood Independent School District (EISD), one of the twenty largest districts in Texas, is given special attention in this study because proportionately it has the heaviest Mexican American enrollment of the nine districts and one of the highest in the State (about 90 percent Mexican American, 6 percent Negro and 4 percent Anglo), and has the severest educational problems.

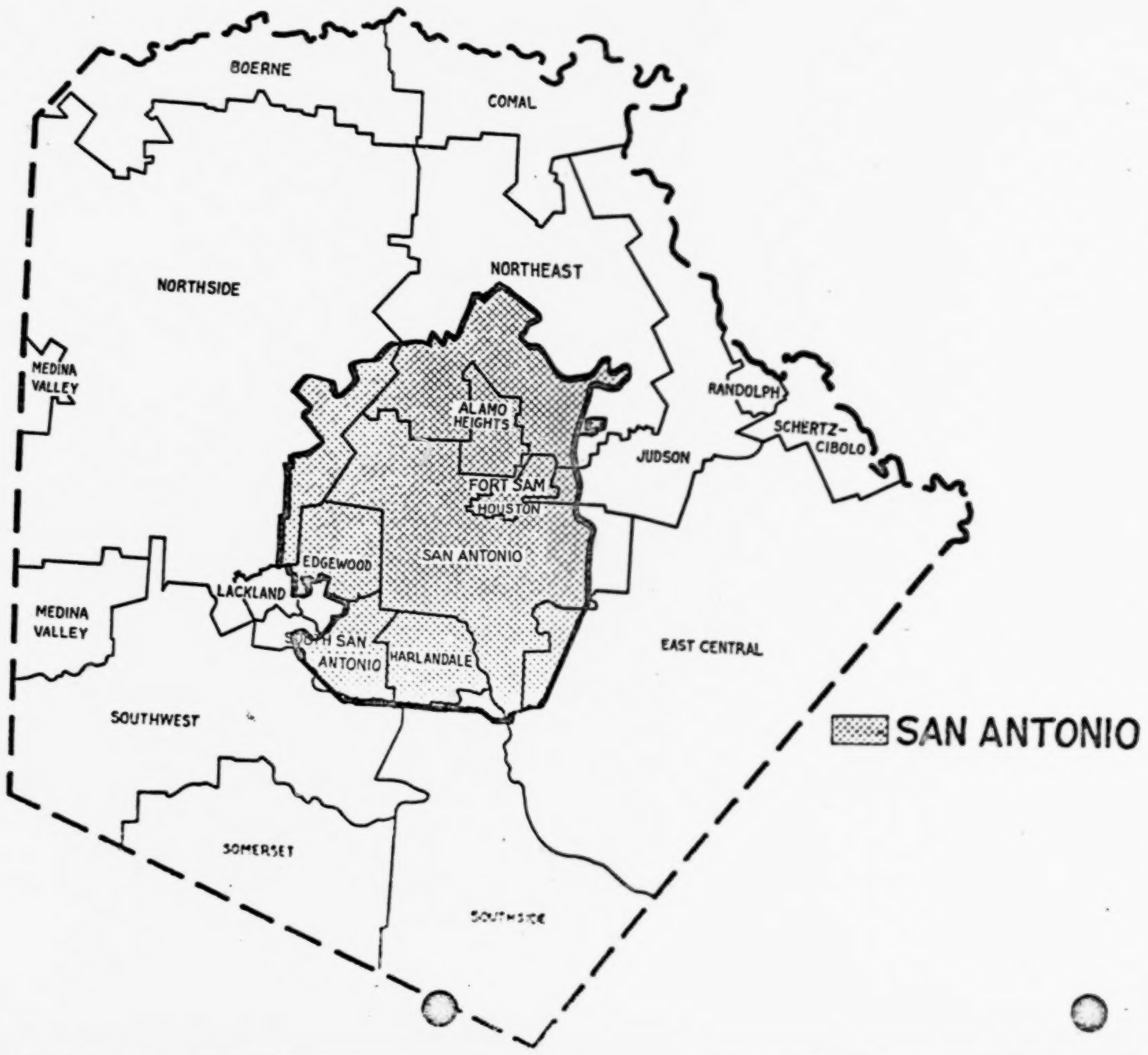
1/ An independent school district is a separate governmental unit which has virtually complete control over its own operations in contrast with common or rural high school districts which are under the administrative control of county superintendents. Independent school districts are, of course, required to comply with State laws and to meet minimum State standards.

2/ The metropolitan area of San Antonio consists of Bexar and Guadalupe Counties. The school districts studied are located within only that part of the metropolitan area which is in Bexar County.

3/ The nine districts were selected because their enrollment constitutes over 90 percent of the total enrollment in Bexar County and all fall partially or totally within the San Antonio city limits. There are 10 other school districts in Bexar County. Three are military districts--Fort Sam Houston, Lackland Air Force Base and Randolph Air Force Base. For description of military school districts see pp. 12-14. The remaining seven--Southside, Judson, Somerset, Boerne, Schertz-Cibolo, Medina Valley and Comal--because of small enrollments have not been included in the study.

FIGURE 1.

BEXAR COUNTY SCHOOL DISTRICTS



The other five districts--North East, Alamo Heights, Northside, East Central and Southwest--have predominantly Anglo enrollments. Two of the districts, Alamo Heights ISD 4/ and North East ISD 5/, also receive special attention in this study because their wealth and high level of student educational attainment contrast markedly with conditions in San Antonio and Edgewood.

Three significant areas of education were examined. The first concerns Anglo overrepresentation on school boards and professional staff (principals, vice principals and teachers) as well as ethnic isolation of Mexican American students. The study shows that Mexican American students tend to be concentrated in certain schools and Anglos in other schools and, where Mexican Americans do attend schools with a substantial Anglo enrollment, they are often concentrated in separate classrooms through ability grouping and tracking practices. The study points out that in only two of the nine districts--Edgewood and South San Antonio--do Mexican Americans constitute a majority of the Board of Trustees (which have substantial governing powers over school districts in terms of taxation, school construction, attendance zones, and school policies), that there are few Mexican American teachers and other professional staff and that of these most are assigned to schools with a high concentration of Mexican American students.

The second area on which attention is focused is disparities in the educational system. It contrasts Mexican American schools with Anglo schools in terms of financial resources, teacher qualifications, and physical facilities. It demonstrates that because Mexican American districts have lower taxable property values than Anglo districts, they are unable to provide comparable educational opportunities utilizing locally raised funds. Federal and State funds, moreover, do not equalize the disparities in local financial resources. The study demonstrates that significantly more non-degree teachers are found in predominantly Mexican American school districts. Generally, Mexican Americans are educated in comparatively old overcrowded schools, with restricted playground space, inadequate libraries and few modern conveniences, in contrast with the modern facilities and spaciousness of the schools in Anglo areas.

4/ Alamo Heights ISD encompasses part of the city of San Antonio and includes totally or in part the incorporated towns of Alamo Heights, Terrell Hills and Olmos Park, to the north of SAISD. Incorporated towns are municipalities located within the San Antonio city limits with governing bodies separate from those of the city.

5/ North East ISD includes a small portion of northeast San Antonio. Most of this district lies northeast of the city in Bexar County.

The third area examined is the impact of inadequate education on the Mexican American child. It documents the Mexican American's comparatively low scholastic attainment and the substantial likelihood that he will not complete high school. It shows that a disproportionate number of Mexican American students score low on achievement tests and perform poorly on IQ tests ill-designed to measure their true ability and relates this to the overrepresentation of Mexican American students in classes for low achievers and in non-college preparatory curricula. The study also documents the significant dropout rate for Mexican Americans in Texas and San Antonio as well as the higher percentage of retentions in grade of Mexican American students.

The principal source for this paper is the information obtained from U.S. Commission on Civil Rights questionnaires distributed to all nine school districts and completed by school officials in these districts in mid-October 1968. This questionnaire supplied data concerning ethnic composition of enrollment; administration and professional personnel; finances (Federal, State and local); facilities; IQ scores; reading levels; number of children in educable mentally retarded classes by ethnic group; and number of retentions and dropouts by ethnic group.

Field reports from USCCR staff supplied data on: (1) ethnic isolation in SAISD and some of the causes of this isolation; (2) enrollment in vocational education classes and adequacy of vocational curricula; (3) achievement test scores in all SAISD high schools; and (4) the three military school districts.

Some information was also obtained from the 1960 U.S. Census; the San Antonio City Planning Office; the San Antonio Planning and Research Council, a private, non-profit organization; the Texas Education Agency; the University of Texas; the Bexar County Superintendent of Education; and the Governor's Committee on Public School Education.

The paper does not discuss several aspects of education of particular significance to Mexican Americans, such as the extent of suppression of the Spanish language and exclusion of Mexican and Mexican American culture and history, the extent to which negative attitudes on the part of administrators and teachers towards Mexican American students prevail, whether Mexican American parents are being reached by the school system to involve them in the educational process, the nature and extent of culture conflict experienced by Mexican American students in Anglo-oriented schools, the extent of Mexican American participation in student extracurricular activities, and the extent and efficacy of various Federal programs aimed at increasing educational opportunities for Mexican Americans.

II. POPULATION AND ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAN ANTONIO METROPOLITAN AREA

A. Population

According to the 1960 U.S. Census San Antonio was the third largest city in Texas and had a population of approximately 588,000. Of this total, Anglos comprised about 51 percent, Mexican Americans 41 percent and the rest were almost entirely Negroes (Table 1). Mexican Americans long have constituted a major segment of San Antonio's population. In 1900, they made up about 26 percent of the city's inhabitants; by 1940 their share had increased to approximately 40 percent. 6/ During the period from 1940 to 1960 there was only a small increase in the Mexican American population; from 40.6 percent to 41.4 percent. This small rate of growth of the Mexican American population can be attributed to the fact that since 1940 as the city has expanded it incorporated surrounding areas inhabited largely by Anglos. 7/ The high birthrate of the Mexican Americans plus migration from South Texas, however, has resulted in a slight increase in the Mexican American population.

Generally, the Mexican American population is confined to an area bounded by the original city limits (Figure 2). The heaviest concentration is in an area of very low income in the west central part of the city extending in a wide band west from the San Antonio River nearly to the city limits and including most of the Edgewood residential area of the city. Culebra Avenue and Kelly Air Force Base serve roughly as perimeters on the north and south respectively. There is an intense degree of residential segregation. In 1960 nearly one-third of all the Mexican Americans lived in nine census tracts 8/ 90 percent or more Mexican American; better than one-half of the Mexican Americans lived in 18 census tracts that were 75 percent or more Mexican American.

The Anglo population spreads out mostly to the north of the central city. Located here are a number of bedroom cities including Alamo Heights, Terrell Hills, Olmos Park, Castle Hills and Balcones Heights. These high income municipal areas are separately incorporated and enclosed almost entirely by the San Antonio city limits. In the five incorporated areas, nearly 95 percent of the 1960 population was Anglo. In one of these areas, Balcones Heights, the entire population was Anglo. Anglos predominate in Bexar County outside the city limits

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6/ Doyle, John J. and Christopher Little, Widening the Field of of Vision: De Facto Segregation in Southern Public Schools, University of Texas School of Law, 1966, p. 56.

7/ Due to annexations, San Antonio's total area increased from a previously static area of 36 square miles in 1940 (the original city limits) to more than 176 square miles in 1966. Ibid.

8/ The corporate city of San Antonio is divided into 92 census tracts.

FIGURE 2. **DISTRIBUTION OF MEXICAN AMERICANS IN SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS: 1960**

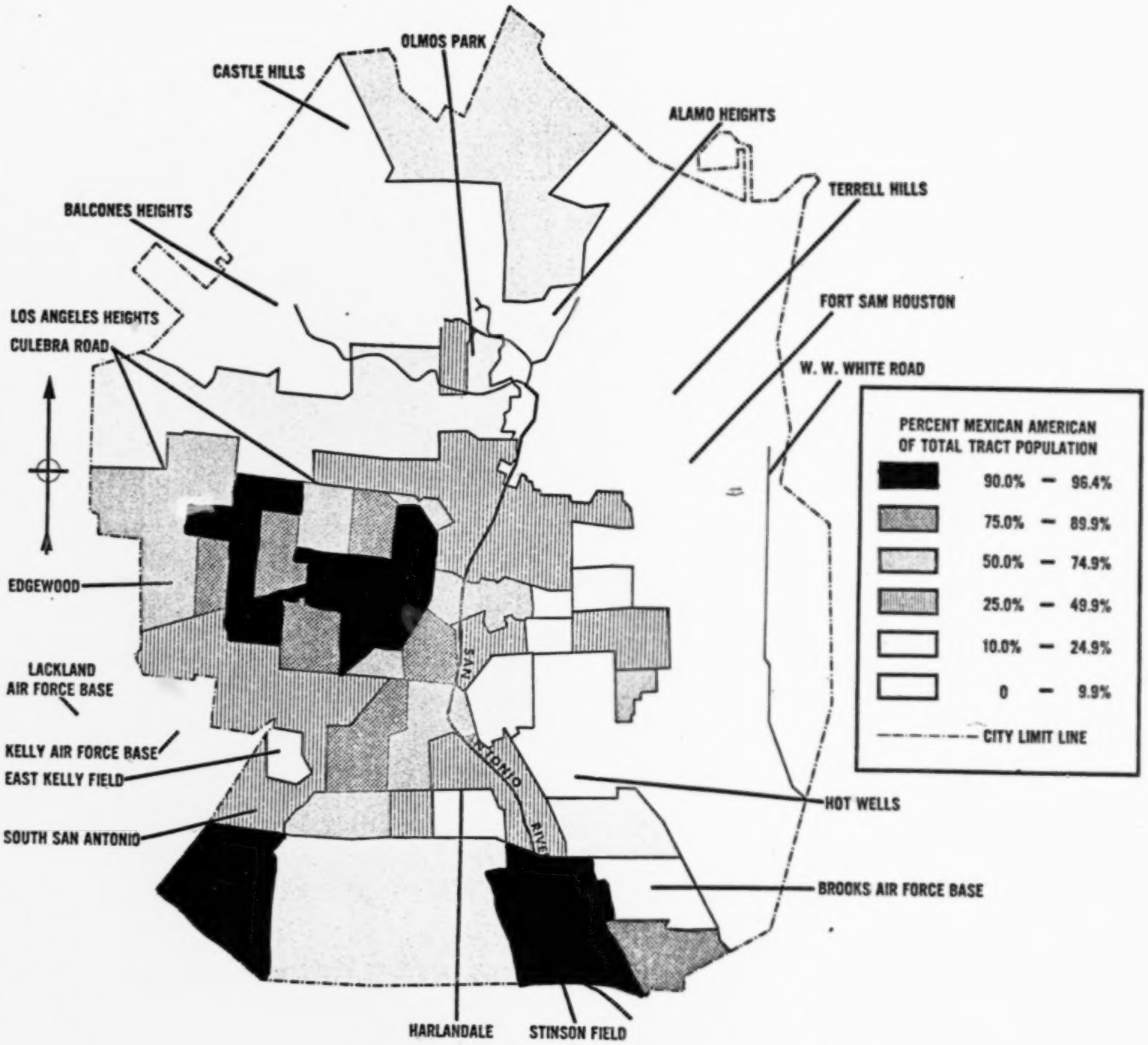


TABLE 1 METROPOLITAN SAN ANTONIO POPULATION, ANGLO, MEXICAN AMERICAN AND NEGRO--1960

	Total Population	Anglo		Mexican-American		Negro		Other	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Corporate San Antonio	587,718	300,870	51.2	243,627	41.4	41,605	7.1	1,616	0.3
Incorporated Cities of:									
Terrell Hills	5,572	5,235	94.0	227	4.1	100	1.8	10	0.2
Alamo Heights	7,552	7,300	96.7	206	2.7	37	0.5	9	0.1
Olmos Park	2,457	1,966	80.0	266	10.8	223	9.1	2	0.1
Castle Hills	2,622	2,506	95.6	104	4.0	11	0.4	1	*
Balcones Heights	950	950	100.0	--	--	--	---	--	--
TOTAL	19,153	17,957	93.8	803	4.2	371	1.9	22	0.1
Remainder of Bexar County	80,280	63,839	79.5	12,660	15.8	3,328	4.2	443	0.6
Metropolitan San Antonio	687,151	382,666	55.7	257,090	37.4	45,314	6.6.	2,081	0.3

* Less than one-tenth of one percent.

SOURCE: U. S. CENSUS OF POPULATION AND HOUSING 1960. CENSUS TRACTS. Final Report PHC(1)-134. Table P-1 p. 22.

of San Antonio and constitute nearly four-fifths of all people living in the remainder of Bexar County. 9/

B. Income

According to the 1960 census, the median family income of Mexican Americans in the city of San Antonio in 1959 was $3,474 or about 60 percent of that of Anglo families living in the area. The gap between Negro median family income and that of Anglos was slightly larger.

MEDIAN FAMILY INCOME, SAN ANTONIO, 1960

ETHNIC GROUP	MEDIAN FAMILY INCOME
Anglo	$5,803
Mexican American	3,474
Negro	3,216

A very high incidence of poverty characterized the Mexican American community of San Antonio. Forty-two percent of Mexican American households compared to 17 percent of Anglo households had a median family income in 1959 below the poverty level of $3,000 per annum (Figure 3). Moreover, in seven of the nine census tracts where the population was 90 percent or more Mexican American the median family income was less than $3,000 a year. The lowest median family income in the San Antonio area, $1,720, was recorded in Census Tract 44, a predominantly Mexican American area on the West Side.

In seven of the 19 northern census tracts with populations 90 percent or more Anglo, median family income was in excess of $7,000 per annum. Median family income of residents in the incorporated municipalities was even higher. For example, in both Terrell Hills and Olmos Park, median family incomes were slightly in excess of $12,000.

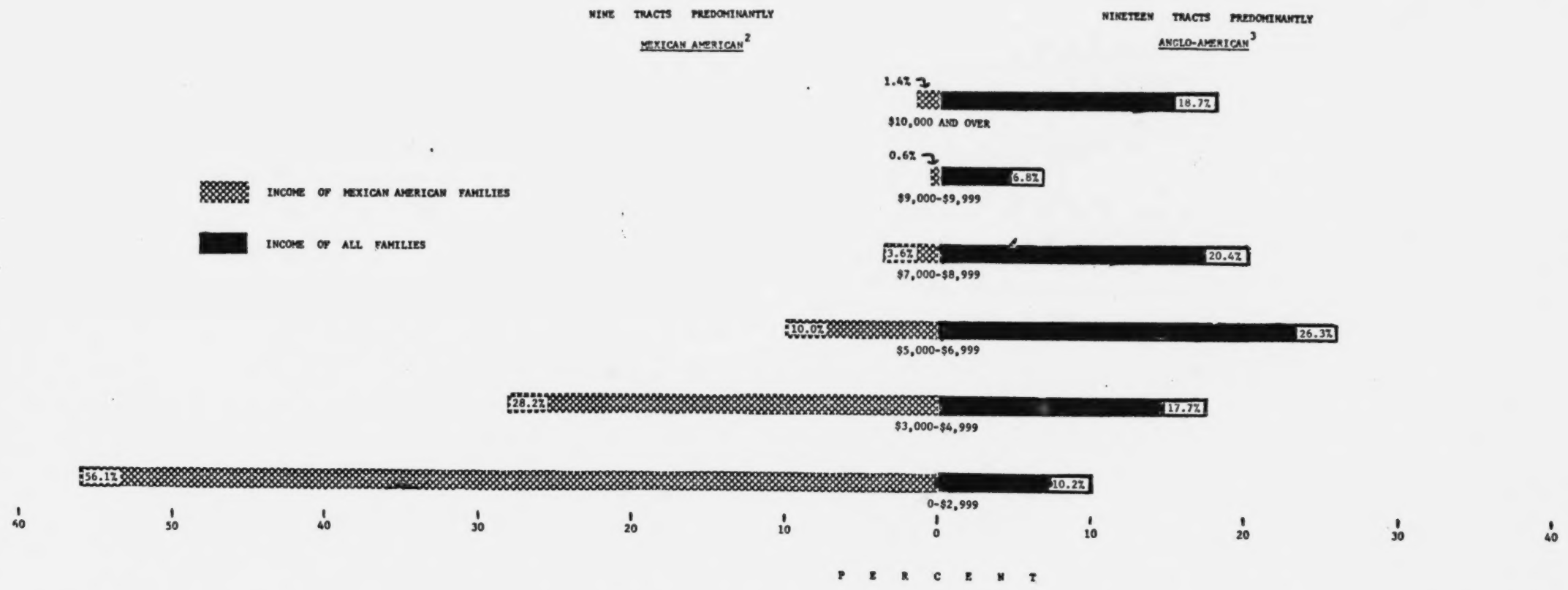
C. Housing Characteristics

A disproportionate share of Mexican Americans occupy substandard housing. In the nine census tract areas where Mexican Americans constituted more than 90 percent of the population, nearly 50 percent of the housing was unsound in 1960. Approximately 28 percent of the housing was deteriorating, and almost 20 percent dilapidated (that is, of a quality which endangers the health and safety of the occupants). Nearly 50 percent of all housing in these areas was renter-occupied and over half had been built before 1939.

9/ About 7 percent of the population of Bexar County in 1960 was Negro most of whom live in a small area directly to the east of the center of the city. A small number was found on the west side just south of Culebra Road.

12

FIGURE 3. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME[1] OF MEXICAN AMERICAN[2] FAMILIES AND ALL FAMILIES, BY INCOME GROUPING, IN TWO SELECTED AREAS OF SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS: 1960



[1] Income was earned in 1959.

[2] In each of the nine tracts, the Mexican American population comprised at least 90 percent of the total population of the tract in 1960.

[3] In each of the nineteen tracts, the Anglo-American population comprised at least 90 percent of the total population of the tract in 1960.

SOURCE: U.S. Censuses of Population and Housing: 1960. Census Tracts. Final Report PHC(1)-134. Tables P-1, P-4, and P-5.

In the 18 census tract areas where 90 percent of the population was Anglo, 96 percent of all dwellings were rated as sound. Only 3 percent of the houses were deteriorating and less than 1 percent dilapidated. A little more than 16 percent of the housing in these predominantly Anglo census tracts was renter-occupied. Seventeen percent of the houses had been built prior to 1939.

III. ETHNIC ISOLATION OF STUDENTS AND STAFF

A. Public School Students

In the 1968/69 school year there are approximately 180,000 students in all nine school districts. About 49 percent are Mexican American, 43 percent are Anglo and nearly all of the remaining 8 percent are Negro (See Table 2). Mexican American students are concentrated in four independent school districts--San Antonio, Edgewood, Harlandale and South San Antonio--which account for more than 90 percent of the Mexican American enrollment. Almost four-fifths of the Anglo enrollment is concentrated in North East, Northside and San Antonio ISD's. Ninety-five percent of the Negro enrollment is concentrated in San Antonio ISD.

The student population of the San Antonio ISD schools is: 26.8 percent Anglo, 58.2 percent Mexican American,and 14.7 percent Negro. The pattern of school enrollment follows that of population distribution: the Anglo enrollment is concentrated in the northern part of the city and the northern suburbs, the Mexican American enrollment is largely concentrated in the west central part of the city (though also extending in sizeable numbers to the south and southwest), and the Negro enrollment is compressed into a small area in the east central part of San Antonio (although a small number attend a few schools in the west side).

Elementary Schools. A pattern of ethnic separation is apparent within the San Antonio Independent School District (Appendix Table A). In 1968/69 its 74 elementary schools have a population of 42,948 pupils. Of this total 61.5 percent are Mexican American, 22.9 percent are Anglo and 15.4 percent are Negro. 10/ Twenty-five elementary schools are 80 to 100 percent Mexican American and contain 60 percent of the total elementary enrollment of Mexican Americans. Of these 25 schools, 11 are 95 to 100 percent Mexican American and account for 40 percent of the total Mexican American elementary enrollment (Table 3). Fourteen of the 74 elementary schools have enrollments which are 20 percent or less Mexican American. Less than 3 percent of the Mexican American elementary grade children attend these schools. 11/

10/ Other ethnic groups,primarily Orientals,account for 0.2 percent of the enrollment.

11/ The seven schools with less than 5 percent Mexican American school population are 96 percent or more Negro and have no Anglo students.

able 2. ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF ENROLLMENT, NINE SCHOOL DISTRICTS, 1968-69.

istrict	Total Enrollment	ANGLO Number	ANGLO Percent of District Enrollment	MEXICAN AMERICANS Number	MEXICAN AMERICANS Percent of District Enrollment	NEGROES Number	NEGROES Percent of District Enrollment	OTHERS Number	OTHERS Percent of District Enrollment
lamo Heights	5,167	4,400	85.2	731	14.1	22	0.4	14	0.3
ast Central	2,856	1,987	69.6	709	24.8	160	5.6	---	---
dgewood	22,218	916	4.1	19,870	89.4	1,398	6.3	34	0.2
arlandale	16,940	6,460	38.1	10,458	61.7	17	0.1	5	---1/
orth East	25,768	23,703	92.0	1,903	7.4	26	0.1	136	0.5
orthside	16,837	13,766	81.8	2,705	16.1	298	1.8	68	0.4
an Antonio	79,338	21,297	26.8	46,188	58.2	11,641	14.7	212	0.4
outh San Antonio	7,413	2,887	38.9	4,409	59.5	106	1.4	11	---
outhwest	2,636	1,569	59.5	1,024	38.8	43	1.6	---	---
TOTAL	179,204	76,945	42.9	87,997	49.1	13,711	7.7	480	0.3

1/ Less than one-tenth of 1 percent.

ource: USCCR QUESTIONNAIRE
October, 1968.

TABLE 3 - ELEMENTARY, JUNIOR AND SENIOR HIGH ENROLLMENTS SAISD SCHOOLS, 1968/69

Percent Mexican American Enrollment of Total Enrollment	Total Schools	Total Enrollments	Mexican American Enrollments	Mexican American Enrollment as a % of Total Mexican American Enrollment	% Anglo	% Negro
Elementary Schools						
95-100%	14	10,328	10,055	38.1	2.4	.5
80-94.9%	11	7,603	6,820	25.8	6.8	1.4
20-79.9%	35	16,457	8,831	33.5	53.8	34.5
0-19.9%	14	8,560	690	2.6	37.0	63.5
TOTAL	74	42,948	26,396	100.0	100.0	99.9
Junior High Schools						
95-100%	4	4,011	3,938	36.0	1.0	.4
80-94.9%	2	2,327	2,141	19.6	1.9	2.6
20-79.9%	9	8,338	4,216	38.6	50.0	44.2
0-19.9%	7	4,835	636	5.8	47.2	53.0
TOTAL	22	19,511	10,931	100.0	100.1	100.2
Senior High Schools						
95-100%	2	3,948	3,869	43.7	.6	2.1
80-94.9%	1	1,544	1,308	14.8	4.1	-
20-79.9%	3	6,678	3,104	35.0	47.8	35.1
0-19.9%	3	4,709	580	6.5	47.5	62.8
TOTAL	9	16,879	8,861	100.0	100.0	100.0

SOURCE: USCCR Questionnaire, October 1968

Thirty-nine elementary schools, or more than one-half of all elementary schools in SAISD, have a disproportionate number of students from one ethnic group and therefore may be termed ethnically imbalanced.12/ Of the schools which contain 80 percent or more of one ethnic or racial group, 25 are Mexican American, seven are Negro, and five are Anglo. Thirty-five elementary schools could be said to have an ethnically balanced enrollment in regard to Mexican Americans. 13/

The ethnic imbalance in the schools in part reflects ethnic concentration in neighborhood residential patterns in the San Antonio area. School attendance in SAISD at the elementary level is based on a neighborhood school policy with school zones following neighborhood lines (Figure 4). The school attendance zones are established by the Superintendent with the approval of the Board of Education.14/ Five of these zones are classified as open attendance areas, i.e., areas where there are two elementary schools either one of which may be attended by children of the neighborhood. These open attendance areas are occupied by Mexican Americans and Negroes living in a mixed residential pattern, and therefore enrollments of all schools in open attendance ares are predominantly Mexican American or Negro. In spite of the low percentage of Negroes in San Antonio, in none of these areas is a Negro or Mexican American child given the option of attending a school where the majority of pupils are Anglos.

Junior High Schools. Twenty-two junior high schools have a total enrollment of 19,511 students, and attendance is determined by attendance zones except in open attendance areas 15/(Figure 5). Approximately 56.0 percent of the junior high student population is Mexican American, 29.5 percent is Anglo and 14.2 percent is Negro. Four junior high schools

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12/ For purposes of this paper schools containing 80 percent or more Mexican Americans (a proportion which is 20 percent or greater than the overall district ethnic representation of 58.2 percent) or less than 20 percent Mexican American will be termed ethnically imbalanced. Correspondingly, all schools 20 percent to 79.9 percent Mexican American will be considered ethnically balanced. This crude standard will be used as a measure of ethnic isolation at all three grade levels.
13/ Any school with a 20 percent to 79.9 percent Mexican American enrollment.
14/ There are 69 such zones in SAISD.
15/ There are also five open attendance areas at the junior high school level.

FIGURE 4. **MEXICAN AMERICAN ENROLLMENT AS PERCENT OF TOTAL ENROLLMENT IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS**

SAN ANTONIO INDEPENDENT SCHOOL DISTRICT: 1968-1969

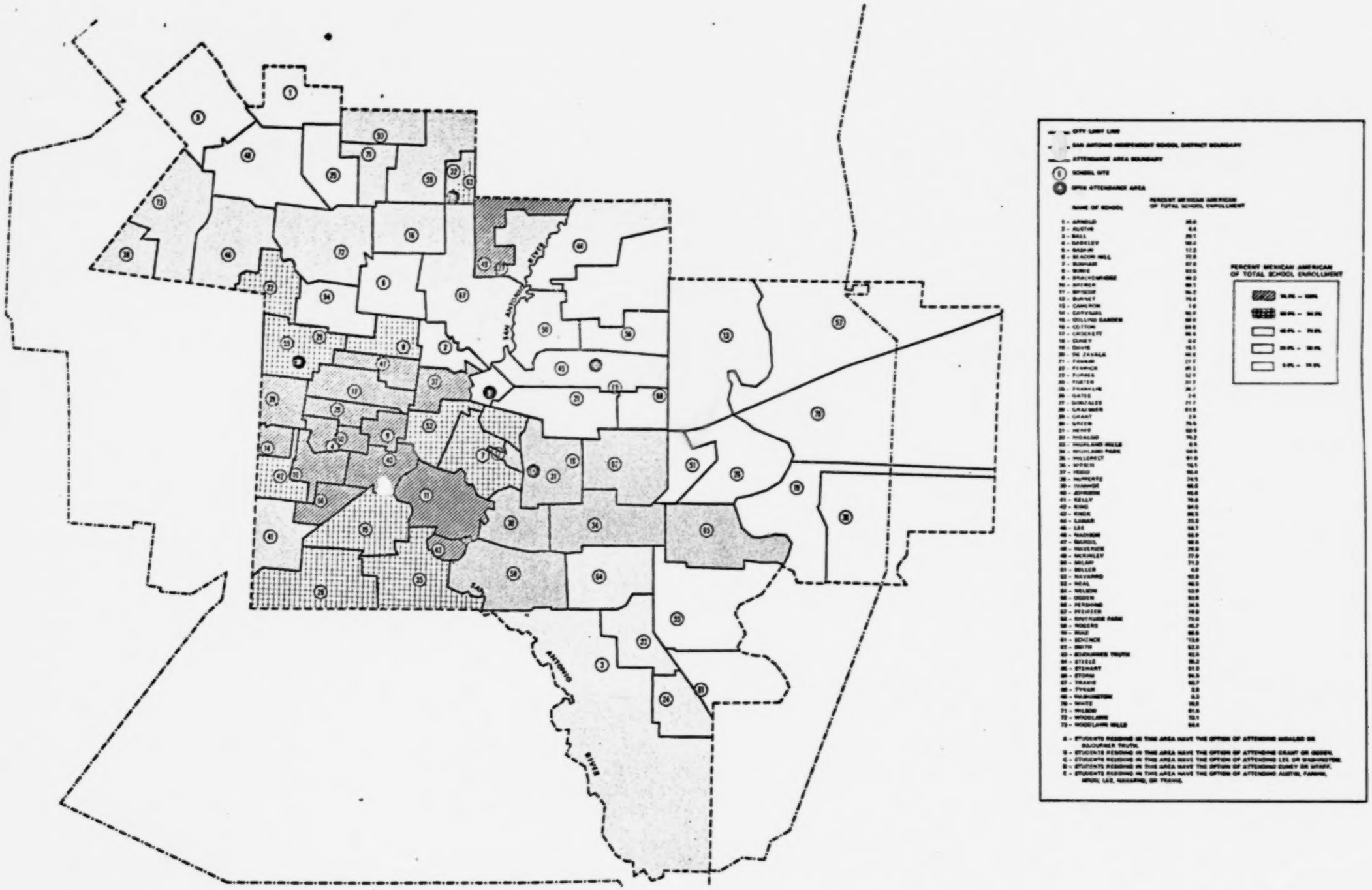
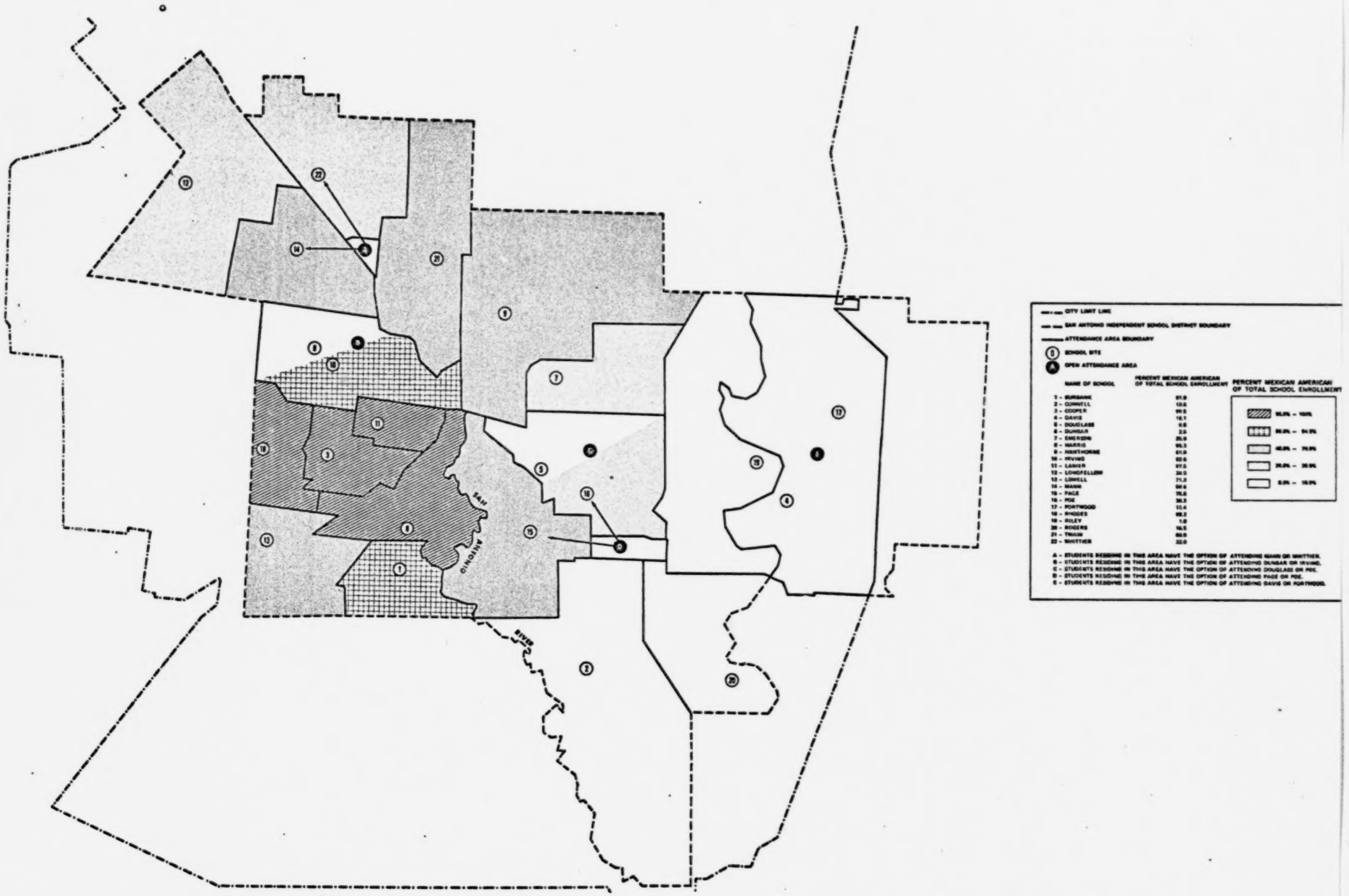


FIGURE 5. **MEXICAN AMERICAN ENROLLMENT AS PERCENT OF TOTAL ENROLLMENT IN JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOLS**

SAN ANTONIO INDEPENDENT SCHOOL DISTRICT: 1968-1969


SAN ANTONIO
RIVER
CITY LIMIT LINE
SAN ANTONIO INDEPENDENT SCHOOL DISTRICT BOUNDARY
ATTENDANCE AREA BOUNDARY
SCHOOL SITE
OPEN ATTENDANCE AREA
NAME OF SCHOOL
PERCENT MEXICAN AMERICAN OF TOTAL SCHOOL ENROLLMENT
1 - BURBANK 61.8
2 - CONNELL 13.6
3 - COOPER 99.5
4 - DAVIS 16.1
5 - DOUGLASS 6.6
6 - DUNBAR 2.5
7 - EMERSON 25.9
8 - HARRIS 93.3
9 - HAWTHORNE 61.9
10 - IRVING 92.6
11 - LANIER 97.5
12 - LONGFELLOW 24.5
13 - LOWELL 71.3
14 - MANN 98.6
15 - PAGE 35.6
16 - POE 99.5
17 - PORTWOOD 12.4
18 - RHODES 98.3
19 - RILEY 1.8
20 - ROGERS 94.5
21 - TWAIN 89.9
22 - WHITTIER 53.0
PERCENT MEXICAN AMERICAN OF TOTAL SCHOOL ENROLLMENT
55.0% - 100%
35.0% - 54.9%
15.0% - 34.9%
5.0% - 14.9%
A - STUDENTS RESIDING IN THIS AREA HAVE THE OPTION OF ATTENDING MANN OR WHITTIER.
B - STUDENTS RESIDING IN THIS AREA HAVE THE OPTION OF ATTENDING DUNBAR OR IRVING.
C - STUDENTS RESIDING IN THIS AREA HAVE THE OPTION OF ATTENDING DOUGLASS OR POE.
D - STUDENTS RESIDING IN THIS AREA HAVE THE OPTION OF ATTENDING PAGE OR POE.
E - STUDENTS RESIDING IN THIS AREA HAVE THE OPTION OF ATTENDING DAVIS OR PORTWOOD.

have an enrollment 95 percent or more Mexican American, and two others are 80 to 94.9 percent Mexican American. These six schools account for 55 percent of the Mexican American enrollment. At the same time there is substantial underrepresentation of Mexican Americans in other junior high schools. Three schools have less than five percent Mexican American enrollment and an additional four have less than 20 percent. Again using a 20 percent standard of deviation, 13 of the 22 schools show patterns of ethnic imbalance of Mexican Americans.

Senior High School. The nine senior high schools of SAISD have 16,880 students, of whom 52.5 percent are Mexican American, 33.8 percent Anglos and 13.3 percent Negroes. Mexican Americans are concentrated in a few schools. In two senior high schools, Fox Technical and Vocational 16/ and Lanier, more than 95 percent of the enrollment is Mexican American. Nearly 45 percent of the senior high Mexican Americans attend these schools. A third school, Burbank Vocational, is 87 percent Mexican American and contains an additional 15 percent of the district's Mexican American high school enrollment. Three schools, Highlands, Sam Houston and Wheatley (the last being entirely Negro except for two Mexican American students), are less than 20 percent Mexican American. Thus, using the 20 percent deviation standard, six of the nine senior high schools are ethnically imbalanced.

Unlike the attendance in elementary and junior high schools, senior high school attendance is not determined by attendance zones but operates on a freedom of choice basis. Choice slips must be filled out for all junior high school graduates before they enter senior high school (the 10th grade). On these slips the student indicates his age, the high school he wishes to attend and the choice of subjects he wishes to take. The counselor fills in questions on IQ scores, whether the pupil has fulfilled his science requirement and whether he is likely to succeed in a trade. There is a space for the signatures of the student's counselor and parents. 17/

Although the freedom of choice system theoretically offers a junior high graduate the opportunity to attend any senior high school, there appear to be factors which limit his actual alternatives. Mexican American students almost consistently select a senior high school similar in ethnic makeup to the junior high they have attended (See Figure 6). Figure 6 shows the number of students from junior high schools listed on the left choosing the senior high schools listed on the top of the graph. Schools are ranked by the percentage of Mexican American students. The graph slope is obtained by linking the majority choice of graduating junior high students for each senior high school.

Thus, even where freedom of choice purportedly is permitted, ethnically balanced schools do not result. Commission staff interviews with school officials and students reveal a number of factors which operate to restrict the student's free choice of school.

16/ Hereafter referred to as Fox Tech.

17/ See Appendix B.

FIGURE 6. Senior High Schools

(Ranked according to percentage of Mexican American students - high to low)

	Percent Mexican American	Lanier (98.2)	Fox Technical (96.2)	Burbank Vocational (86.9)	Brackenridge (66.1)	Jefferson (38.6)	Edison (25.5)	Highlands (14.8)	Houston *	Wheatley (0.2)
Rhodes	97.5	120	177	4	61	31	0	0	0	0
Cooper	96.8	223	54	6	23	6	0	0	0	0
Harris	93.6	18	1	55	52	8	0	2	0	0
Irving	93.5	32	285	2	60	72	1	1	0	0
Page	75.1	2	38	8	145	0	1	95	0	0
Lowell	68.5	9	12	135	36	91	0	15	0	0
Hawthorne	64.2	1	84	4	16	46	36	8	1	0
Mann	62.6	2	26	2	2	217	12	0	0	1
Twain	57.3	0	68	0	10	63	121	0	0	1
Poe	36.2	1	50	0	94	4	2	93	26	37
Whittier	35.8	0	7	0	2	0	207	54	0	0
Longfellow	32.2	2	6	0	3	393	8	0	0	0
Emerson	27.3	0	49	1	98	5	1	44	2	68
Connell	19.3	0	2	1	26	0	0	294	0	0
Rogers	13.6	0	0	6	3	0	0	383	2	0
Portwood	13.4	2	2	0	5	0	0	7	202	1
Davis	13.1	0	0	0	13	0	0	46	172	3
Riley	1.7	0	1	0	40	1	1	18	42	79
Dunbar	1.4	0	13	0	18	9	1	0	0	20
Douglas	.5	0	0	0	22	1	0	5	1	102

Junior High Schools

Source: Superintendent's Office, San Antonio Independent School District.)

* 1967-68 ethnic composition of enrollment not reported to Title VI offices of HEW. 1968-69 figures indicate Houston is predominantly Anglo.

School officials indicate that many Mexican American parents want to send their children to the school previously attended by the parents. In some instances, it is reported, there is a family tradition of going to a particular, almost exclusively Mexican American high school. There is little doubt that this tendency in part may be attributed to a genuine family interest that the student follow in the footsteps of his parents. But it is also true that often the parents themselves did not have a free choice of high schools. Jefferson High School, for example, did not have any Mexican American students until the early 1940's. Mexican American residents of San Antonio report that members of their ethnic group have had difficulty purchasing homes in some parts of town and in the past have encountered hostility in efforts to integrate exclusively Anglo high schools. Some counselors will let a parent's decision to send the child to an almost exclusively Mexican American school prevail, even though the counselor believes the student would be better equipped and more successful at another school.

Another reason for the continued ethnic concentration through high school, according to school officials, is the prevailing pattern of ethnic concentration in neighborhoods coupled with the difficulties in obtaining transportation to other parts of town. Mexican American students who live in a Mexican American neighborhood and who go to the nearest high school--so they can walk to school instead of riding the bus--often find themselves in predominantly or almost exclusively Mexican American schools. There is no school bus transportation in San Antonio, and students going to a school outside their neighborhoods must rely upon public transportation. Sometimes this requires a fairly heavy expenditure of time and money. Further, one of the nine San Antonio high schools, Sam Houston, a highly regarded but almost exclusively Anglo high school on the extreme eastern side of town, is virtually inaccessible by public bus transportation.

Another important factor is the rôle of the counselor in the process of school selection by the student. Some counselors deny that they make any effort affirmatively to counsel the student in his choice of high school, indicating that they merely present information on the course offerings and graduation requirements and let the student decide. But other school officials admit that there are junior high school counselors, especially in almost exclusively Mexican American schools, who guide the Mexican American students toward the predominantly Mexican American vocational high schools because they believe this type school to be most appropriate for the Mexican American student. School official interviews indicate that sometimes this is done on a subtle basis by providing more and better information on the course offerings of the Mexican American vocational schools than the Anglo college preparatory schools. In other instances, school officials and students believe, this guidance reflects the counselor's ethnic stereotype of the Mexican American student as an individual inherently equipped only for vocational or academic training in a predominantly Mexican American high school.

B. Boards of Education

Each of the nine districts has a seven-man school board that has substantial governing powers, including, inter alia, taxation, school construction, setting of attendance zones, and determination of educational policy. In all but two of the school districts Anglos constitute at least a majority of school board members. In Edgewood, the entire school board is Mexican American and in South San Antonio four out of seven are Mexican American.

C. Administrative Staff

Superintendents in eight of the nine districts are Anglos. Edgewood ISD presently has an acting superintendent who is Mexican American. The former superintendent of Edgewood, who is Anglo, resigned in November 1968.

As the following table indicates, Anglo representation among principals and vice-principals is grossly disproportionate to student enrollment (Table 4). In SAISD there are only seven Mexican American principals even though 54 schools have a predominantly Mexican American enrollment. It is to be noted, however, that this represents a substantial increase over years prior to the 1968/69 school year.

With only one exception, 18/ Mexican American school administrators are assigned to schools in which the majority enrollment is Mexican American. In only three cases, two in San Antonio and one in South San Antonio, do Mexican Americans occupy the position of principal while an Anglo serves as his assistant. 19/ In all other instances Mexican American principals either serve alone or have Mexican American vice principals under them. A total of 11 schools in Edgewood, Harlandale, San Antonio and South San Antonio have Anglo principals and Mexican American vice principals.

D. Teachers

Similar or greater Anglo overrepresentation is found in the ethnic composition of the teaching staffs in the nine school districts (Table 5). Again the proportion of Anglo teachers employed in 1968/69 is greatly overrepresentative of the Anglo student enrollment. The Mexican American representation of the teaching staff in

18/ Emerson Junior High in SAISD has an enrollment 71.7 percent Negro and 25.9 percent Mexican American this year and a Mexican American serves as assistant to an Anglo principal.
19/ Lanier Junior-Senior High and Irving Junior High in San Antonio and Dwight Junior High in South San Antonio.

TABLE 4

ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION OF PRINCIPALS AND VICE PRINCIPALS, 1968/69

District	Percent of Total Enrollment Mexican American	Mexican American No.	Mexican American %	Anglos No.	Anglos %	Negroes No.	Negroes %	Total
Alamo Heights	14.1							
Principal		0	0	6	100	0	0	6
Vice Principal		0	0	4	100	0	0	4
East Central	24.8							
Principal		0	0	5	100	0	0	5
Vice Principal		0	0	1	100	0	0	1
Edgewood	89.4							
Principal		10	40.0	12	48.0	3	12.0	25
Vice Principal		23	60.5	13	34.2	2	5.3	38
Harlandale	61.7							
Principal		2	10.0	18	90.0	0	0	20
Vice Principal		5	31.3	11	68.7	0	0	16
North East	7.4							
Principal		0	0	28	100	0	0	28
Vice Principal		0	0	13½	100	0	0	13½
Northside	16.1							
Principal		0	0	22	100	0	0	22
Vice Principal		0	0	10	100	0	0	10
San Antonio	58.2							
Principal		7	7.0	82	82.0	11	11.0	100
Vice Principal		6	18.7	24	75.0	2	6.3	32
South San Antonio	59.5							
Principal		4	44.4	5	55.6	0	0	9
Vice Principal		2	66.7	1	33.3	0	0	3
Southwest	38.8							
Principal		0	0	4	100	0	0	4
Vice Principal		0	0	2	100	0	0	2

Source: USCCR Questionnaire, October 1968.

TABLE 5. ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION OF TEACHERS 1968/69

District	Mexican American		Anglo		Negro		Other	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	TOTAL
Alamo Heights	4	1.6	248	98.4	0	0	0	252
East Central	4	4.0	94	93.1	3	2.9	0	101
Edgewood	223	28.4	416	53.0	143	18.2	3	785
Harlandale	111	17.3	516	80.5	12	1.9	2	641
North East	57	5.1	1050	94.3	3	0.3	4	1114
Northside	31	4.6	621	92.8	14	2.1	3	669
San Antonio	331	11.1	2268	76.0	383	12.8	1	2983
South San Antonio	61	19.7	178	57.4	71	22.9	0	310
Southwest	4	4.0	95	96.0	0	0	0	99

Source: USCCR Questionnaire, October 1968.

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the four predominantly Mexican American districts is less reflective of the ethnic enrollment than is true, for the most part, of the school administrative personnel. For example, in Edgewood ISD which has an 89.4 percent Mexican American enrollment this year, 60.5 percent of its assistant principals and 40 percent of its principals but only 27.5 percent of its teachers are Mexican American. This pattern also prevails in South San Antonio ISD. Although Mexican American teachers are employed by the Anglo districts, ethnic composition of the total teaching staff is disproportionately below that of the enrollment, with the possible exception of the North East School District.

Mexican American teachers are generally found in predominantly Mexican American schools. In SAISD, 299 of the 328 Mexican American teachers are assigned to 61 schools which are more than half Mexican American in enrollment. Almost three-fourths of the Mexican American teachers employed by SAISD have been placed in 1968/69 in schools whose student population is more than 80 percent Mexican American. Only 10 percent of the Mexican American teaching staff at Harlandale is in schools over 50 percent Anglo. Close to 65 percent are teaching in schools over 90 percent Mexican American. 20/

E. Military School Districts

As mentioned previously, there are three military independent school districts in the San Antonio area -- Fort Sam Houston, Lackland Air Force Base, and Randolph Air Force Base. 21/ These are independent school districts run by persons living on the military reservations. Fort Sam Houston occupies about 3,000 acres in the northeastern part of the city. Lackland Air Force Base and Randolph Air Force Base are located outside the city limits. Lackland Air Force Base adjoins the Edgewood School District at the southwestern corner of the city. Randolph Air Force Base is about 15 miles northeast of the city and borders Guadalupe County.

Military ISD's are provided for under State Law. In 1936, the State Board of Education was authorized to establish independent school districts in any military reservation located within the State of Texas, under such terms and conditions as might be agreed upon by the military and the State Board of Education. 22/ The law provided that only children of officers, warrant officers, soldiers and civilians residing or employed upon military installations were entitled to attend these schools. 23/

20/ There are no schools in Harlandale School District in the 1968/69 school term which have an 80 to 89.9 percent Mexican American enrollment.
21/ Five other military reservations--Camp Bullis (a subpost of Fort Sam Houston); Brooks Air Force Base; Kelly Air Force Base; Stinson Field and Medina Base are located in Bexar County. None of these installations function as an independent school district.
22/ Article 2756D, Vernon's Texas Civil Statutes, p. 161.
23/ With two exceptions, not relevant to this study.

Military ISD's receive Federal financial support under Public Laws 874 and 815, and financial assistance from the State of Texas. Schools have been established in the three military reservations only since 1950 (i.e., after the enactment of P.L. 874). 24/ The military school district at Lackland Air Force Base began operations in 1951. Those at Fort Sam Houston and Randolph Air Force Base started in 1952. 25/ Enrollment at all three districts has shown appreciable growth in the past 15 years.

GROWTH PATTERNS MILITARY ISD's 1954/55 - 1968/69

	Enrollment		Percent Increase
Military ISD	1954/55	1968/69	1954/55 - 1968/69
Fort Sam Houston	1104	1715	55.3
Lackland Air Force Base	368	953	158.9
Randolph Air Force Base	840	1428	70.0

Source: Clyde Smith, Superintendent of Education, Bexar County, September 1968.

Enrollment in all three military school districts is predominantly Anglo. Utilizing 1967/68 figures (which combined Mexican Americans with minority groups other than Negroes), it appears that none of the schools in these districts had a Mexican American enrollment comprising more than five percent of the total number of students.

In contrast, all of the public school districts had a higher percentage of Mexican Americans. North East Independent School District had the smallest number of Mexican Americans of any of the public school districts. Proportionately, its Mexican American enrollment was nearly twice that of any of the military school districts. 26/

24/ Earl Hall, Jr., Principal, Randolph Air Force Base High School, September 1968.
25/ Ibid.
26/ For a description of enrollment in public school districts see discussion above in section on Ethnic Isolation of Students.

ENROLLMENT BY RACE AND ETHNIC GROUP

	Percent		
	Anglos	Negroes	Others 27/
Fort Sam Houston High			
Fort Sam Houston Elementary	84.8	12.2	3.0
Robert G. Cole High School	87.8	7.5	4.7
Lackland ISD			
Lackland Elementary and Junior High School	86.2	10.5	3.3
Randolph Field ISD			
Randolph Elementary School	90.3	5.9	3.7
Randolph Junior and Senior High School	94.3	3.0	2.7

Source: Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Title VI Survey, October 1967.

There is some evidence that ethnic isolation is perpetuated by the attendance pattern of students who leave Lackland ISD to complete their education at high schools off base. Students are bussed several miles from the military reservation to Jefferson High School in SAISD, a predominantly Anglo high school of excellent scholastic reputation. Edgewood High School in Edgewood ISD which borders Lackland is bypassed. This school has an enrollment that is more than 90 percent Mexican American. Its educational reputation is inferior to that of Jefferson.

27/ It is estimated that most persons in other ethnic groups are Mexican Americans.

IV. TANGIBLE DISPARITIES IN EDUCATIONAL FINANCE, TEACHER QUALIFICATIONS, AND SCHOOL FACILITIES

A. Disparities in Per Pupil Expenditures

The following tabulation illustrates the marked differences in per pupil expenditures in 1967-68 among the nine districts studied:

Per Pupil Expenditures (1967-68)

Name of School District	Percent Mexican American Enrollment of Total Enrollment	Expenditures Per Pupil (Revenue from All Sources)
North East	7.4	$745.07
Alamo Heights	14.1	653.17
East Central	24.8	604.22
South San Antonio	59.5	592.87
Northside	16.1	578.13
Southwest	38.8	543.00
Harlandale	61.7	465.53
Edgewood	89.4	464.54
San Antonio	58.2	425.31

Source: USCCR Questionnaire, October 1968.

It may be seen therefrom that, in general, the predominatly Anglo districts have greater per pupil expenditures than those that have a substantial Mexican American enrollment. In one instance, an almost exclusively Anglo district (Northeast ISD) spends almost $320.00 per pupil more than a predominantly Mexican American district (San Antonio ISD).

The discussion which follows will point out how school districts obtain revenues, the relative abilities of the district to raise funds and their comparative effort in doing so, and the impact of State and Federal aid on these districts.

B. Local Finances

School district draw revenue from Federal, State, and local sources to cover their expenditures. 28/ The county may also make a minimal contribution. Local revenue is derived primarily from taxes levied upon taxable properties within a district and from the sale of school bonds as approved by property-holding resident electors. Small amounts of revenue are derived from the sale of property owned by a district and the collection of tuition from students who attend a public school in one district but live in another.

28/ Financial data were obtained from the USCCR questionnaire. This same source is used throughout the discussion of school finances unless otherwise noted.

Local financial capability of the nine districts is reflected in part by their respective per pupil assessed property values. 29/ In school year 1967/68 per pupil assessed property values ranged from a low of $2,208 in Edgewood Independent School District (EISD), which of the nine districts has the greatest percentage of Mexican American students, to $23,343 in Alamo Heights ISD (AHISD), a predominantly Anglo school district. Assessed property valuations of three of the four districts whose enrollments were over half Mexican American were considerably below the average ($8,785) of the nine districts. Alamo Heights and North East, having the lowest percentage of Mexican American students, enjoyed per pupil assessed property valuations well above this average (Table 6).

Three main factors have limited the amount of taxable property values available to Edgewood ISD: the presence of Federal or public properties, legally immune from taxation, which comprise a substantial part of Edgewood's territory; the predominance of low-value private residential housing; and the meager development of high revenue producing industries. Today Kelly Air Force Base encompasses approximately one-fourth of the district's territory. In 1965 approximately three thousand students, or 13.5 percent of the total enrollment, resided in tax free public housing. 30/ Edgewood has been developed chiefly by the construction of low cost homes, which began in 1936 with the subdivision of farm land subsequently sold primarily to low-income Mexican American families. 31/

The district has, on a number of occasions, petitioned San Antonio ISD for annexation. Annexation would enable Edgewood ISD to equalize its property tax base with that of SAISD. In connection with one such annexation request in 1960, San Antonio ISD performed a study which concluded that Edgewood ISD needed more financial support that SAISD could provide. 32/ Edgewood's relatively meager financial capacity has had its effects on the quality of teachers which Edgewood has been able to attract and in the adequacy of its school facilities. 33/

29/ School districts assess property located within their jurisdictions at a certain proportion of the true value, that is the amount which the owner would actually be able to receive from the sale of his property. Total assessed property value in a district is that amount upon which taxes may be levied by the district to educate its pupils. Federally-owned property and some State property upon which taxes may not be levied under law are not included in figures for total assessed property value. Per pupil assessed property value is arrived at by dividing total assessed property value by the number of students in the district.

30/ San Antonio Evening News, August 3, 1965, p. 1. According to figures furnished by the Bexar County Superintendent, Edgewood's total 1965/66 enrollment numbered 22,108.

31/ From a special report furnished by Edgewood ISD, which traces the district's historical development.

32/ San Antonio Evening News, August 4, 1965.

33/ See discussion of teacher qualifications, pp. 20-22.

Table 6. COMPARATIVE ASSESSED AND TRUE MARKET PROPERTY VALUES PER PUPIL, 1967/68

School Districts	Assessed Property Valuation per Pupil	Assessment Ratio (%)1/	True Market Property Value Per Pupil	Percent Mexican American Enrollment of Total Enrollment
Edgewood	$ 2,208	50.00*	$ 4,891	89.4
Harlandale	4,858	60.00	8,097	61.7
South San Antonio	6,807	70.00	9,724	59.5
East Central	5,939	50.00	11,878	24.8
Northside	9,429	59.22	15,922	16.1
Southwest	5,279	31.12	16,963	38.8
San Antonio	9,783	44.90	21,788	58.2
North East	11,414	47.62	23,696	7.4
Alamo Heights	23,343	48.52	48,110	14.1

1/ From unpublished materials provided by the Texas Education Agency. All other data was obtained from the USCCR questionnaire.

* Edgewood increased its assessment ratio from 45.14 percent to 50 percent on September 1, 1968. USCCR interview with Edgewood Board of Trustees member on November 27, 1968.

Although school districts levy and collect taxes based on the assessed value of property, due to wide variations in assessment ratios of real property among districts true market value of taxable property is a more accurate measure of a school district's comparative ability to finance public education from local revenue sources. Sometimes a district with a low assessment ratio will appear on the surface to have lesser local resources while another with a high ratio will seemingly have greater resources when in actuality the reverse is true. Thus, as shown in Table 6, South San Antonio ISD with the highest assessment ratio, actually has less basic capacity to finance public education than six of the other eight districts. Conversely, the financial resources of Southwest ISD which has the lowest assessment ratio, more closely approximate those of its fellow Anglo school districts than those of the predominantly Mexican American districts.

Nominal tax rates 34/ imposed on assessed property do not present the real picture of a district's local taxing effort until adjusted by the ratio at which true market property values are assessed. After the adjustment, the amount which owners are being taxed on the true market value of their property comes to light.

District	Nominal 35/ Tax Rate	Assessment Ratio	Adjusted(Real) Tax Rate
South San Antonio	1.30	70.00	.91
Harlandale	1.47	60.00	.88
North Side	1.45	59.22	.86
Alamo Heights	1.61	48.52	.78
San Antonio	1.61	44.90	.72
North East	1.50	47.62	.71
Edgewood	1.40	50.00	.70
East Central	1.36	50.00	.68
Southwest	1.10	31.12	34

South San Antonio and Harlandale, which have a high proportion of Mexican American enrollment and comparatively low per pupil true market property values are making greater tax efforts than any of the predominantly Anglo districts.

34/ The amount levied on each $100 of assessed property values.
35/ Nominal tax rates for all districts are taken from the Public School Directory of 1968/69, Texas Education Agency, Bulletin 677, Austin, Texas, pp. 8-12.

C. State and Federal Aid

Generally, State and Federal aid constituted a higher proportion of 1967/68 revenue in districts having a predominantly Mexican American enrollment and low property values than in Anglo districts with higher property values. This did not, however, uniformly result in equalization of expenditures per pupil in average daily attendance (ADA) between the fortunate and less fortunate districts. Further, although the percentage of Federal and State aid to total revenue has declined considerably over the six-year period 1962/63 through 1967/68 in the Anglo districts and increased somewhat or remained fairly stable in the Mexican American American districts, expenditures per pupil ADA on the whole have risen more in the Anglo districts (Table 7).

The Governor's Committee on Public School Education in its recently issued report 36/ pointed out that the Texas State Minimum Foundation Program (MFP) as designed in 1948 with the purpose of equalizing per pupil expenditures among local school districts is no longer effective in 1968 in performing this task. In its first year of operation (1949/50 school year), the Minimum Foundation Program covered, on the average, 81 percent of local district costs for public school education exclusive of capital outlay and debt service. By the 1966/67 school term State MFP contributions represented only 64 percent of local district costs although total State dollar input had increased sizeably. The report disclosed that more than a third of the districts now provide local supplements to the State MFP minimum salary schedule and that the MFP-supported operational allowance accounts for only 25 percent of the average district's outlay (Table 8). For example, under the Minimum Foundation Program formula, State funds allotted for the current school year to Alamo Heights ISD underwrite minimum salaries for 228 professional personnel. Alamo Heights has employed 300 professional staff members, meeting the extra costs from locally-raised funds. 37/

The Governor's Committee Report drew a comparison between a core city school district and a suburban district in Bexar County. Although the names of these two districts were not revealed, the characteristics cited matched those of Edgewood (the predominantly Mexican American San Antonio core city district) and North East (the suburban Anglo district)which have approximately the same number of students . For the school term 1966/67 North East received $221 per pupil in average daily attendance (ADA) in State aid versus $217 received by Edgewood. Because MFP allotments are determined not only

36/ The Challenge and the Chance: Report of the Governor's Committee on Public School Education, 1968, Austin, Texas /hereinafter cited as the Governor's Committee Report/

37/ USCCR staff field report of interview with Alamo Heights ISD Superintendent Virgil Currin, September 23, 1968. Alamo Heights also provides substantial supplements to the State minimum salaries. See discussion of teacher qualifications below.

Table 7. FEDERAL AND STATE AID COMPARED WITH EXPENDITURES PER PUPIL IN AVERAGE DAILY ATTENDANCE 1962/63 and 1967/68.

School District	Percentage Mexican American Enrollment	Percentage Federal and State Aid of Total Revenue		Expenditures per Pupil ADA (Revenue from all Sources)	
		1962/63	1967/68	1962/63	1967/68
Southwest	38.8	77.2	85.2	384.48	543.00
Northside	16.1	75.1	60.0	353.18	578.13
East Central	24.8	70.3	48.4	366.16	604.22
Alamo Heights	14.1	50.3	44.0	418.92	653.17
North East	7.4	76.9	38.4	337.08	745.07
San Antonio	58.2	61.0	72.5	326.97	425.31
Edgewood	89.4	81.6	92.8	272.07	592.87
Harlandale	61.7	78.3	76.8	317.03	465.53
South San Antonio	59.5	78.2	78.0	272.07	592.87

Sources: Data for 1962/63 was obtained from the Bold Plan for Bexar County prepared by the San Antonio Research and Planning Council and 1967/68 statistics were furnished by the districts on the USCCR questionnaire.

Table 8. MINIMUM FOUNDATION PROGRAM FORMULA AS APPLICABLE TO NINE DISTRICTS SURVEYED 1/

I. The State, under the MFP, provides minimum salaries for:

A. Classroom Teacher Units (CTUs)--One teacher for each 26 pupils.
B. Special Service Units--One for each 20 CTUs. (Includes librarians, school nurses, school physicians, visiting teachers and itinerant teachers.)
C. Exceptional Children Teacher Units--Provides separate educational services for children 6 to 21 years of age who are either physically handicapped, mentally retarded or emotionally disturbed. CTUs for emotionally disturbed children are limited to a total of 20 for the entire State.
D. Vocational Teacher Units--Two for each four year accredited high school plus additional units at the discretion of the State Board of Education.
E. Supervisor and/or counsellor Units--One for the first 40 CTUs and one for each additional 50 CTUs.
F. Full-Time Principals--One for first 20 CTUs and one for each additional 30 CTUs.
G. Part-Time Principals--One part-time principal for each full-time principal in districts with 20 or more CTUs.
H. Superintendents--One for districts with at least one four-year accredited high school.

II. Supplemental salaries at $50 per CTU, Vocational Teacher Unit, and Exceptional Children Teacher Unit, with certain exceptions provided.

III. Current operating costs, exclusive of professional salaries and transportation, at $600 per classroom teacher unit and exceptional children teacher unit, except that $200 is allocated for each emotionally disturbed child.

IV. Transportation cost.

A. For regular students: No funds are provided for transportation of those children residing within city limits, provided that such children do not live more than two miles from public transportation. Allotments are otherwise dependent upon bus capacity needed, the distance and the condition of roads traveled.
B. For exceptional children: Funds provided at $150 per exceptional child (physically or visually handicapped, deaf or trainably mentally retarded.)1/

Sources: Handbook for Local School Officials, Texas Education Agency, Austin, Texas, Bulletin 671, 1967, pp. 98-128. Vernon's Annotated Texas Statutes, Arts. 2922-13, 2922-14, and 2922-15 as amended in part. The Challenge and the Chance, Report of the Governor's Committee on Public School Education, Austin, August 1968, p. 20.

1/ Children having IQs 35 to 50.

by the number of pupils in average daily attendance within each district, but also by the level of academic attainment and the length of experience of teachers employed by each individual district, it is highly probable that North East received more State aid because its teachers were better qualified. 38/ Also, whereas North East employed 91 professionals above and beyond those underwritten by the State in accordance with the MFP formula, Edgewood was unable to fill 45 professional positions covered by MFP allotments thereby losing some State MFP monies to which it otherwise would have been entitled.

It is also evident that in some instances Federal aid works to the detriment of the poorer Mexican American districts. Federal contributions comprised 27.8 percent of Edgewood's total 1967/68 revenue and 27.3 percent of total income for Southwest ISD, a predominantly Anglo district. Nevertheless, Federal aid raised Southwest's per pupil ADA expenditures by $137 and increased Edgewood's by approximately $111.08. 39/ Exclusive of Federal aid, Southwest's per pupil ADA expenditures were $52.54 above Edgewood's. Total Federal contributions widened the gap to $78.46.

38/ Although the State-suported minimum salary schedule was raised effective as of the 1967/68 school year (See Vernon's Annotated Texas Statutes, Art. 2922-14, as amended), North East still continues to provide healthier salary supplements than Edgewood. (See also discussion of inter-district disparities in teacher salaries and qualifications below.) Consequently, Edgewood's teachers as a whole remain less qualified in terms of degrees and experience than those in North East. It is, therefore, highly possible that North East continues to receive greater MFP apportionments per pupil.

39/ From $406 to $543 in Southwest ISD and approximately $353.46 to $464.54 in Edgewood.

D. Inter-District Disparities in Remuneration and Qualifications of Teaching Staff

Minimum teacher salaries in the nine selected districts of the San Antonio area, as well as all Texas school districts, are based on the Minimum Salary Schedule established by Texas law. 40/ Local districts may augment the Minimum Foundation Program. More affluent districts are, of course, able to provide larger increments. The current state-supported minimum salary schedule ranges from $3132 (for a teacher without a Bachelor's degree and with no experience) to $6912 per calendar year (for a teacher with a Master's (or higher) degree and a maximum of 16 years experience). The 1968/69 range in actual salaries being paid teachers in the nine San Antonio area districts is indicative of each individual district's capability to augment the minimum pay scale. Average remuneration for fully certified teachers

	Percent Mexican American Enrollment of Total Enrollment	Lowest Salary Being Paid	Highest Salary Being Paid
Edgewood	89.4	$3,132	$7,152
East Central	24.8	3,132	7,191
Southwest	38.8	3,249	6,912
Harlandale	61.7	3,482	7,362
South San Antonio	59.5	3,537	6,809
San Antonio	58.2	3,947	8,240
Northside	16.1	4,662	7,506
Alamo Heights	14.1	5,400	8,300
North East	7.4	5,400	8,550

Source: USCCR Questionnaire, October 1968

varies between $5,407 in Edgewood to $6,789 in Alamo Heights this year. Edgewood has consistently encountered difficulties in maintaining salary levels competitive with those of the surrounding districts.

40/ Vernon's Annotated Texas Statutes, Art. 2922-14, as amended. In 1965 the State instituted a Supplemental Salary Aid Program (See Art. 2922-14c) . Under this program, a local district may pay a minimum of ten percent of its eligible teachers an annual salary supplement between $100 and $1,000. The State's share, however, is limited to $50 per eligible teacher. An eligible teacher is one who is professionally qualified, employed full time and spends at least one-half his time in actual instruction.

The lower the pay scale in any given school district, the fewer adequately qualified teachers that district is able to attract. The level of academic attainment of the teaching staffs in the predominantly Mexican American core city districts or the rural districts (Southwest and East Central) is generally lower than that of the suburban, Anglo districts. It is markedly lower in Edgewood ISD (Table 9). Out of 814 teachers employed by Edgewood this year, 160 (or 19.7 percent) have less than a Bachelor's degree.

In terms of academic preparation, some improvement has been made in the quality of teachers engaged by the Edgewood school system during the past three years. The greatest improvement has been made at the junior and senior high level. During the 1966-67 term, 24.4 percent of all

Percent of Non-Degree Teachers at Each Level 41/

	1966/67	1968/69
Elementary	27.2	25.1
Junior High	26.8	17.9
Senior High	13.6	8.4

teachers employed had less than a Bachelor's degree. 42/ In contrast Alamo Heights, North East and Northside combined had only six non-college degree teachers, four of whom taught vocational education courses.

Not only are there more non-degree teachers in the predominantly Mexican American districts but the median pupil-teacher ratios in those districts are comparatively higher than in the Anglo districts (Table 10).

41/ Statistics on teacher preparation for 1966/67 were obtained from the files of the Division of School Accreditation, Texas Education Agency.

42/ During the years 1964/65 to 1966/67, 57 percent of Edgewood ISD's teachers were non-degree (See Governor's Committee Report, p. 46).

Table 9. Teacher Qualification Data Nine School Districts, 1968/69

	No College Degree		Bachelors		Masters		Doctorate		
	Number	Percent of Total Empl.	Number	Percent of Total Empl.	Number	Percent of Total Empl.	Number	Percent of Total Empl.	Total Number Employed
San Antonio	30	0.9	2313	72.1	862	26.9	2	0.1	3207
Alamo Heights	1	0.3	181	62.4	108	37.2	0	0	290
North East	8	0.7	889	79.9	216	19.4	0	0	1113
Harlandale	40	6.0	502	75.3	125	18.7	0	0	667
Northside	5	0.7	536	80.0	129	19.3	0	0	670
Southwest	11	11.1	65	65.7	23	23.2	0	0	99
East Central	5	4.8	79	76.0	20	19.2	0	0	104
South San Antonio	12	4.1	237	81.2	42	14.4	1	0.3	292
Edgewood	160	19.7	510	62.7	143	17.6	1	0.1	814

Source: USCCR Questionnaire, October 1968

Table 10. Pupil-Teacher Ratios Nine School Districts, 1968/69

District	Elementary	Jr. High	Senior High	Average Pupil-Teacher Ratios	Percent Mexican American Enrollment of Total Enrollment
Edgewood	29:1	28:1	26:1	28:1	89.4
Harlandale	28:1	26:1	25:1	26:1	61.7
South San Antonio	27:1	21:1	20:1	23:1	59.5
San Antonio	28:1	25:1	25:1	26:1	58.2
Southwest	29:1	28:1	20:1	26:1	38.8
East Central	31:1	28:1	22:1	27:1	24.8
Northside	27:1	23:1	21:1	24:1	16.1
Alamo Heights	20:1	21:1	21:1	21:1	14.1
North East	25:1	22:1	21:1	23:1	7.4

Source: USCCR Questionnaire, October 1968
(Special education students and teachers included)

Average pupil-teacher ratios range from 21:1 in Alamo Heights, the most affluent of the nine districts in terms of its tax base, to 28:1 in Edgewood, the most impoverished district and the one with the largest percentage of Mexican American students of the nine surveyed. Apart from South San Antonio ISD, districts whose enrollments are more than half Mexican American have average pupil-teacher ratios of 26:1 and above as contrasted with ratios descending from 24:1 in Northside, North East and Alamo Heights.

E. Inter- and Intra-District Disparities in Adequacy of School Facilities

Alamo Heights and Edgewood. Although schools in Edgewood ISD are, as a whole, of more recent construction than those in Alamo Heights, Edgewood schools have more pupils per classroom and a greater number of students per acre of school site.

Comparative Adequacy of School Facilities

1968/69 School Year

Description	Edgewood	Alamo Heights
Median year of school construction	1957	1949
Median number of pupils per classroom		
Elementary	38	28
Junior High	35	24
Senior High	26	24
Median number of students per acre		
Elementary	124	59
Junior High	181	74
Senior High	208	90

Source: USCCR Questionnaire, October 1968

The less adequate school facilities in Edgewood are chiefly a reflection of its per pupil assessed property valuation, which is approximately one-tenth that of Alamo Heights ISD. 43/ The burden of school construction falls primarily on local districts, which raise funds for this purpose through the sale of school bonds. 44/ Bonded indebtedness, however, generally cannot exceed ten percent of a district's assessed property valuation. 45/

In addition to the housing of students in crowded facilities, portable classrooms attached to existing schools, rather than permanent construction are frequently utilized to relieve the pressure of increasing enrollments in particular neighborhoods in poorer school districts. In a few Edgewood schools almost one-third of the classrooms are non-permanent.

In addition, considerably fewer volumes per pupil are available in Edgewood school libraries than in the libraries of Alamo Heights ISD.

Median Number of Library Volumes per Pupil

School Level	Edgewood	Alamo Heights
Elementary	4	14
Junior High	3	10
Senior High	3	6

Source: USCCR Questionnaire, October 1968

43/ In 1967/68 per pupil assessed property values in Edgewood totaled $2,208 as compared with $23,343 in Alamo Heights.

44/ The State government provides no funds for school construction except to newly consolidated districts. Under Art. 2815-3, Vernon's Annotated Texas Statutes (Incentive Aid Act, 57th Legislature), the State helps to offset any additional costs of new construction or debt retirement produced by such reorganization. The Federal government, under Public Law 815 (20 USC 631-645), contributes some financial aid for school construction to most districts affected by the Federal presence. The amount of aid, however, is determined by the number of children attending the local district's schools who either reside on Federal property or whose parent or legal guardian is employed on Federal property.

45/ Vernon's Annotated Texas Statutes, Art. 2784e-1.

Within San Antonio ISD. In terms of median age of school buildings a strong relationship exists between the year of construction of a given SAISD school and the ethnic composition of its enrollment. On the average, schools with enrollments over 80 percent Mexican American are a quarter of a century older than those whose student bodies are predominantly Anglo. Four predominantly Mexican American schools, all housing elementary grades, predate the twentieth century, the oldest having been constructed 90 years ago.

The lower the proportion of Mexican Americans in the student enrollment of a school, the more recent the date of construction of the school, whether the remainder of the student body is primarily Negro or Anglo (Table 11). In fact, the median age of schools which are almost exclusively Negro are of more recent vintage by six years than those with enrollments over 80 percent Mexican American. The grossest disparities are in the average ages of the elementary schools. At this level, the typical predominantly Mexican American school predates the average Negro school by 19 years, and is 31 median years older than the Anglo school. Generally,Mexican American schools are in need of more repairs than are the Anglo or the Negro schools.

There are almost twice as many children per acre on school sites accommodating enrollments over 80 percent Mexican American as on those with a predominantly Anglo student body. While the almost exclusively

Median Enrollment and Acreage of School Sites

Grade	Schools 80-100 Percent Mexican American . Median Acreage	Schools 80-100 Percent Mexican American . Median Enrollment	Schools 0-19.9 Percent Mexican American 1/ Median Acreage	Schools 0-19.9 Percent Mexican American 1/ Median Enrollment
Elementary	3.7	717.8	7.1	683.0
Junior HIgh	8.3	1192.7	10.2	938.0
Senior High	15.3	2353.0	24.0	1959.0

Source: USCCR Questionnaire, October 1968.

1/ Indicates only those schools with predominantly Anglo enrollments.

Anglo schools accommodate 90 students per acre, the average number of students per acre in the predominantly Mexican American schools is 164. Anglo schools have on the average 4.7 acres more land but house 228 fewer students than the Mexican American schools. One of the elementary schools

Table 11. Median Age of School Buildings by Ethnic Composition, SAISD, 1968/69

PERCENT MEXICAN AMERICAN	OVERALL MEDIAN	SECOND ETHNIC GROUP NEGRO - MEDIAN	SECOND ETHNIC GROUP ANGLO - MEDIAN
Elementary			
80 - 100	1925	----	----
40 - 79.9	1933	1924	1935
20 - 39.9	1942	1932	1944
0 - 19.9	1949	1944	1956
Junior High			
80 - 100	1939	----	----
40 - 79.9	1937	----	1937
20 - 39.9	1932	1923	1942
0 - 19.9	1945	1938	1951
Senior High			
80 - 100	1928	----	----
40 - 79.9	1924	1917	1932
20 - 39.9	1958	----	1958
0 - 19.9	1950	1933	1958

SOURCE: USCCR QUESTIONNAIRE, October 1968.

(Crockett Elementary) built in the late nineteenth century has 480 students per acre this academic year.

Mexican American schools also have overall less playground space per pupil. Anglo schools have almost two times more playground area for each student than the Mexican American schools have. Crockett Elementary has the least square feet (186) per pupil of any school in SAISD. The purchase of additional land for this school was given second priority by the SAISD Ways and Means Committee in December 1967. 46/

Median Square Feet of Playground Area per Pupil

Grade	Schools 80-100 Percent Mexican American	Schools 0-19.9 Percent Mexican American 1/
Elementary	466.7	858.0
Junior High	1728.0	2759.2
Senior High	1676.0	3363.0

Source: USCCR Questionnaire, October 1968.

1/ Includes only those schools with predominantly Anglo enrollments.

In its December 1967 report, the SAISD Ways and Means Committee listed as its first priority recommendations the construction of wholly new elementary schools in the Anglo areas. 47/ Its recommendations for alleviating pressure on classroom space in the predominantly Mexican American elementary schools leaned toward conversion of the cafeteria space into classrooms or simply additions to the existing building. (At the present time, more portable classrooms are utilized at predominantly Mexican American schools.) Further, the estimated cost for the construction of the new schools in Anglo areas was greater than that for the additions planned for the Mexican American schools. 48/(Compare $2,225,000 for building four new schools with $1,870,000 for additions to nine schools.)

46/ "Report of the Ways and Means Committee for School Plant and Operating Fund Needs," San Antonio Independent School District, December 12, 1967.

47/ Id.

48/ Id.

V. STUDENT PERFORMANCE AND INSTITUTIONAL PRACTICES

A. Overall Achievement

Students in almost exclusively Mexican American schools located in the Model Neighborhood Area (MNA) of San Antonio city, test at an achievement grade level below their grade level attained. 49/ Further, the disparity between achievement grade level and grade level attained grows wider as Mexican American children residing in the MNA move to higher grades.

Average fifth, sixth, seventh and ninth grade composite 50/ scores on the Science Research Achievement and Ability Tests (SRA) administered during the fall of 1967 in schools located in the MNA substantiate these two phenomena. This is most evident in the Edgewood schools. 51/ While fifth grade children at Edgewood schools in the Model Neighborhood Area generally test at an achievement grade level one-half year below that attained, at the sixth grade they test at an achievement grade level nearly one year below that attained. Seventh graders at Edgewood MNA schools test at an achievement grade level one and one-half years below grade level attained and ninth graders at two years below grade level attained. At Lanier Junior High in San Antonio ISD the average Mexican American seventh grade student tested at an achievement grade level one and one-half years below that attained and ninth graders at an achievement grade level two years below that attained.

B. Reading Attainment

A curve showing reading average scores 52/ of eleventh grade students in selected San Antonio ISD high schools graphically illustrates

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49/ Report entitled "Problem Analysis, Goals, Program Strategy for the Education Component of Model Cities", prepared for the Education Component Review Committee of the San Antonio Model Cities Program, August 1968. The MNA encompasses the San Antonio city ghetto area roughly bounded by Culebra on the North, the Pan Am Expressway on the East, Ceralvo on the South and 36th Street jogging East on Commerce to San Felipe on the West.

50/ Composite scores are an average of scores in: background in social studies and natural science; correctness of expression; quantitative thinking; reading comprehension in social studies, natural science and literature; and general vocabulary.

51/ According to data furnished the Office of Civil Rights of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Burleson, Gardendale, Williams, Las Palmas, Frey, Coronado, and Cenizo Park Elementaries, Escobar Junior High and Edgewood Senior High had enrollments over 90 percent Mexican American in the 1967/68 school year.

52/ These are average scores for reading in social studies, natural science and literature combined. A maximum score of 38 points is possible.

the distribution of students scoring at particular levels on the Iowa Test for Educational Development (ITED) (Figure 7). Clearly, students at Lanier, which is over 95 percent Mexican American, are testing lower than those at Highlands and Jefferson. 53/ However, test score curves distinguishing between the Spanish surname children and all other students at Highlands and Jefferson indicate that the Mexican American pupils are testing lower than the Anglos in these two schools as well (Figures 8 and 9). 54/

The tabulation below translates these graphs into the average raw scores of the particular ethnic group and of the student body as a whole in each of the three schools. Raw scores are not indicative of achievement grade level but of the median points scored on a range of one to 38 in the category of reading average on the Iowa Test for Educational Development (ITED). The tabulation also shows the percentile which that median raw score represents, that is, the percentage of the nation's students who have tested lower.

Comparison of Median Reading Average Scores
on Iowa Test for Educational Development (ITED)

School	Student Body Average		Spanish Surname Average		Average of Remaining Students	
	Raw Score:	Percentile:	Raw Score:	Percentile:	Raw Score:	Percentile
Lanier	10.3	24	*	*	*	*
Highlands	15.2	53	13.0	40	17.0	62
Jefferson	16.4	59	13.7	44	18.9	72

*In the 1967/68 school year Lanier High was 98.2 percent Mexican American.

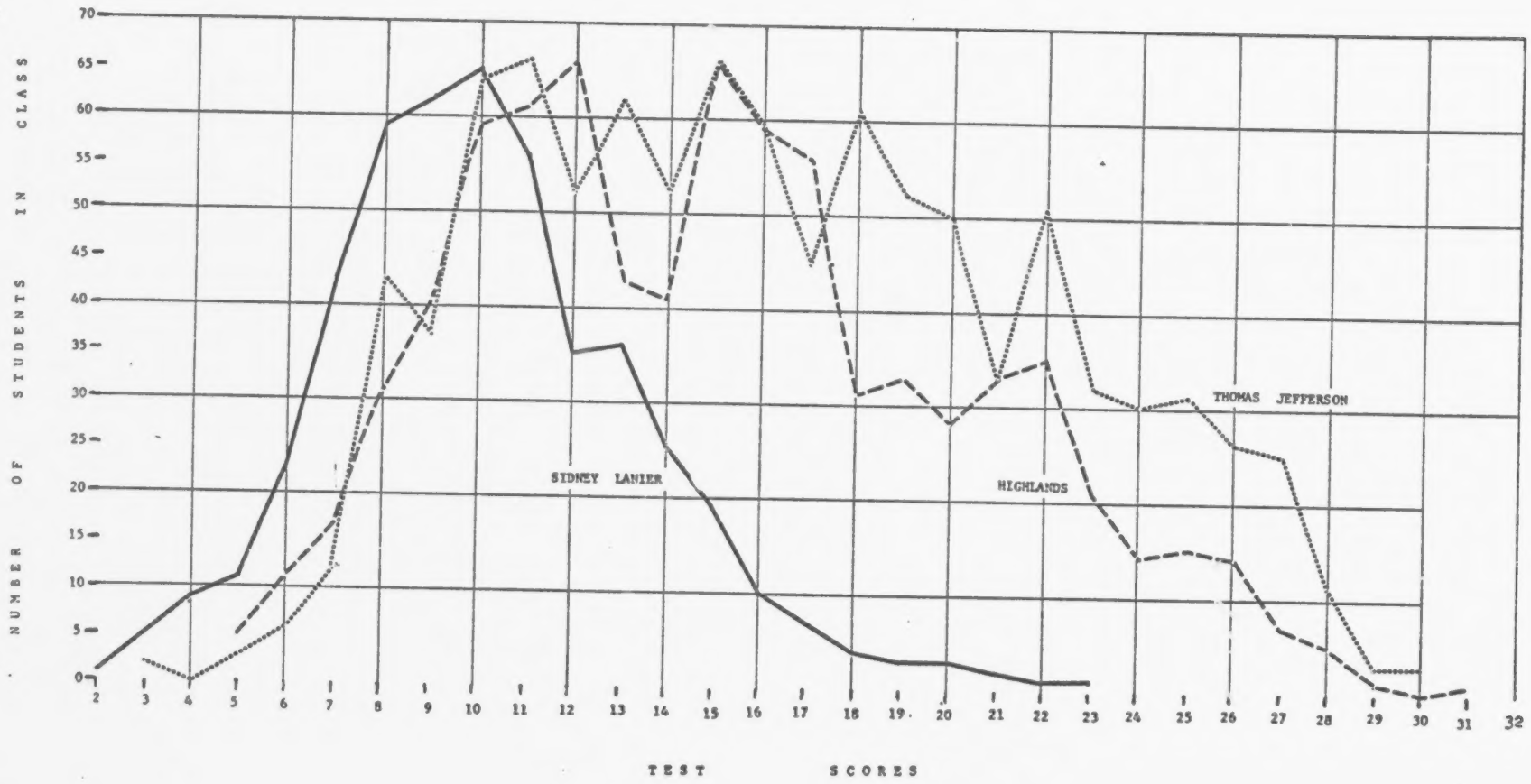
Source: List Report of Scores, Iowa Test for Educational Development. Test administered September 27, 1967.

Apparently Mexican Americans at predominantly Anglo Jefferson and Highlands are as a whole better achievers than those at almost exclusively Mexican American Lanier. Whether this difference is commensurate with the higher academic achievement levels found overall at Jefferson and Highlands is debatable.

53/ Enrollment at Jefferson in the 1967/68 school year was 57.8 percent Anglo, 3.6 percent Negro, and 38.6 percent Mexican American. At Highlands enrollment was 74.8 percent Anglo, 10.5 percent Negro and around 14.8 percent Mexican American.

54/ The non-Spanish surname curve probably includes some Negroes and Orientals also.

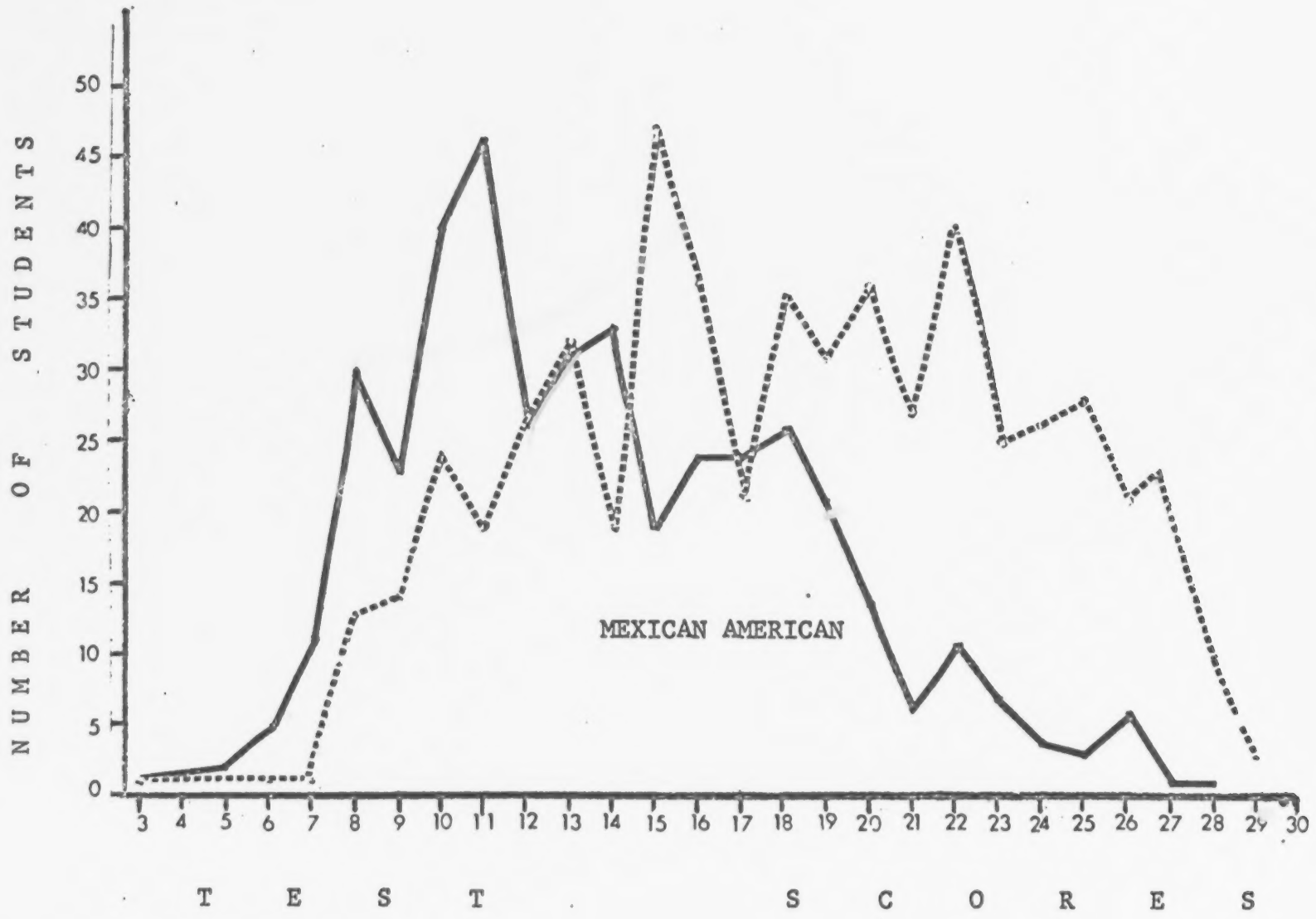
FIGURE 7. AVERAGE READING SCORES* OF ELEVENTH-GRADE STUDENTS HIGHLANDS, THOMAS JEFFERSON, AND SIDNEY LANIER SENIOR HIGH SCHOOLS SAN ANTONIO INDEPENDENT SCHOOL DISTRICT



*FROM THE IOWA TEST OF EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT, CONDUCTED ON SEPT. 27, 1967.

SOURCE: SCORES FROM THE IOWA TEST OF EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT WERE FURNISHED BY THE SUPERINTENDENT OF THE SAN ANTONIO INDEPENDENT SCHOOL DISTRICT.

FIGURE 8. AVERAGE READING SCORES[1] OF MEXICAN AMERICAN AND OTHER[2] ELEVENTH GRADE STUDENTS THOMAS JEFFERSON SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL, SAN ANTONIO INDEPENDENT SCHOOL DISTRICT: FALL TERM, 1967.

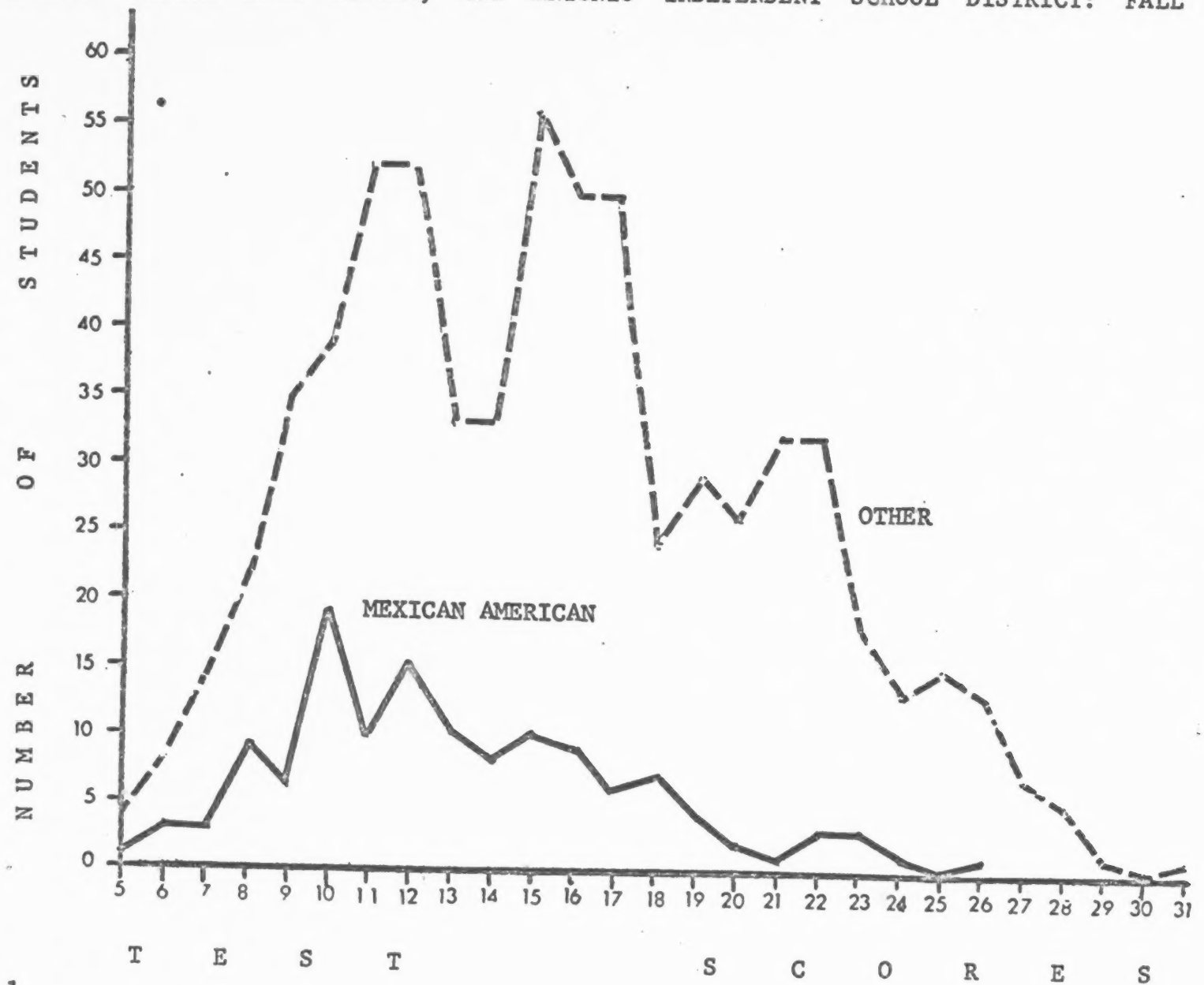


1 FROM THE IOWA TEST OF EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT, CONDUCTED SEPT. 27, 1967.

2 COMPRISED OF ALL NON-MEXICAN AMERICAN STUDENTS. THE GROUP OF NEGRO STUDENTS CONSTITUTED 3.9 PERCENT OF THE ENTIRE STUDENT BODY.

SOURCE: SCORES FROM THE IOWA TEST OF EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT WERE FURNISHED BY THE SUPERINTENDENT OF THE SAN ANTONIO INDEPENDENT SCHOOL DISTRICT.

FIGURE 9. AVERAGE READING SCORES[1] OF MEXICAN AMERICAN AND OTHER[2] ELEVENTH GRADE STUDENTS HIGHLANDS SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL, SAN ANTONIO INDEPENDENT SCHOOL DISTRICT: FALL TERM, 1967



1 FROM THE IOWA TEST OF EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT, CONDUCTED SEPT. 27, 1967.

2 COMPRISED OF ALL NON-MEXICAN AMERICAN STUDENTS. THE GROUP OF NEGRO STUDENTS CONSTITUTED 11.6 PERCENT OF THE ENTIRE STUDENT BODY.

SOURCE: SCORES FROM THE IOWA TEST OF EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT WERE FURNISHED BY THE SUPERINTENDENT OF THE SAN ANTONIO INDEPENDENT SCHOOL DISTRICT.

A greater proportion of Mexican Americans than Anglos are, in fact, reading two or more years below grade level, regardless of the ethnic composition of the schools they attend (Table 12).

C. IQ and Ability Grouping

Students at schools almost exclusively Mexican American in enrollment register substantially lower scores on tests purportedly designed to measure intelligence than students at almost exclusively Anglo schools. Generally, a direct correlation can be found in San Antonio ISD schools between the percentage of Mexican Americans enrolled in any given school and the proportion of the student body testing at below average IQ (Table 13).

Ability grouping is practiced in San Antonio ISD in the intermediate and secondary grades. A tripartite division is made for particular 55/ courses within a school's curriculum and the students grouped homogeneously into "accelerated" classes for the advanced students, "regular" for the average, and "modified" for the slow learner or underachiever. 56/ Children are grouped according to their scores on standardized IQ and achievement tests, class performance, and teacher recommendations. It is likely that IQ and achievement test scores play a highly persuasive part in the determination of ability group placement. Just as Mexican Americans tend to test lower on IQ and achievement tests than Anglos, so too are proportionately more Mexican Americans than Anglos grouped in modified classes.

55/ The SAISD handbook entitled Administrative Policies and Procedures indicates ability grouping is sanctioned in the subject areas of English, Math (Algebra I and II, Geometry I, Trigonometry, Elementary Analysis and other advanced math courses), Science (Biology, Chemistry, and Physics), Social Studies (World History, American History, Government, Economics and Sociology) and Foreign Language (second level and above). Generally IQ criteria for ability group placement are: below 90-modified, 90 to 120-regular, and above 120-accelerated. Careful screening of students is recommended in Geometry, Algebra I and II, Trigonometry, Elementary Analysis, Chemistry, Physics and Foreign Language in order to eliminate the need for modified classes. A grade of "C" or better in prerequisite courses (regular or accelerated groups only) is normally considered adequate for advancement to these latter courses.

56/ "Accelerated," "regular" and "modified" are terms used by SAISD to denote the three different ability groups and are adopted by the USCCR for the purposes of this paper although they may not necessarily be the same terms utilized by other school districts. The SAISD Administrative and Procedures handbook states that: "Grades received in modified classes should not be considered for the regular school honor roll." It is required that school transcripts be footnoted to indicate whether grades received in any given subject are credits for an accelerated, regular or modified class. Further, it is required that transcripts explain that grades received in modified classes are acceptable for high school graduation but are not recommended for college entrance credit.

TABLE 12. AVERAGE PERCENTAGE OF ANGLOS AND MEXICAN AMERICANS READING TWO OR MORE YEARS BELOW GRADE LEVEL BY ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF SCHOOLS, SAN ANTONIO ISD 1/

Aggregates of Schools by Percent Mexican American Enrollment 2/	Percent of Mexican American Enrollment Reading Two or More Years Below Grade Level	Percent of Anglo Enrollment Reading Two or More Years Below Grade Level
80 to 100 Percent		
Elementary	16.2	4.8
Junior High	38.8	17.7
Senior High	48.6	31.1
40 to 79.9 Percent		
Elementary	12.4	4.4
Junior High	28.0	9.3
Senior High	38.1	11.5
20 to 39.9 Percent		
Elementary	8.7	2.6
Junior High	10.9	7.4
Senior High	14.9	4.0
0 to 19.9 Percent		
Elementary	7.9	3.5
Junior High	18.3	8.1
Senior High	38.6	22.6

Source: USCCR Questionnaire, October 1968.

1/ Students at Gonzales and Sojourner Truth Elementaries have not been tested for reading achievement.
2/ For the three aggregates of schools 0 to 79.9 percent Mexican American, only those schools have been included in the computation where, of the two principal remaining ethnic groups (Anglo and Negro), Anglos constitute at least a majority.

TABLE 13. MEDIAN IQ TEST SCORES BY ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF SCHOOLS IN SAN ANTONIO ISD 1/

Aggregates of Schools by Percent Mexican American Enrollment 2/	Percent of Student Body Scoring within Indicated IQ Ranges		
	Above Average (110 and Above)	Average (90-110)	Below Average (90 and Below)
80 to 100 Percent Mexican American	4.0	34.4	61.6
40 to 79.9 Percent Mexican American	13.0	48.0	39.0
20 to 39.9 Percent Mexican American	29.0	53.0	18.0
0 to 19.9 Percent Mexican American	28.4	50.9	20.7

Source: USCCR Questionnaire, October 1968.

1/ Percentage of the student body scoring within indicated IQ ranges at Gonzales and Sojourner Truth Elementaries was not reported.

2/ For the three aggregates of schools 0 to 79.9 percent Mexican American, only those schools have been included in the computation where, of the two principal remaining ethnic groups (Anglo and Negro), Anglos constitute at least a majority.

The predictive validity of standardized tests as an accurate measurement of the disadvantaged child's innate ability has been questioned by many educators. Fishman, et al. 57/ caution school administrators not to think of "test content as reflecting some absolute or pure trait, process, factor, or construct, irrespective of the conditions of measurement or of the population being studied." According to MacMillan: 58/

> A primary factor in the educational deprivation of the Mexican-American is their (sic) general lack of facility with either the English or Spanish language. Actually, many Mexican American children are "a-lingual."

Under these circumstances, a Mexican American child would earn a score on a standardized, verbal-oriented test that has a meaning very different from that earned by an Anglo child. Although "a-lingual" Mexican American youngsters "might be able to recognize an object /they might/ not be able to name it." 59/

McDowell 60/ in his study of academic capabilities and achievements of the three main ethnic groups (Anglo, Mexican American and Negro) enrolled in San Antonio ISD schools also found that:

57/ Fishman, Joshua, et al., Guidelines for Testing Minority Group Children, prepared by a Work Group of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, June 5, 1963, p. 18.

58/ MacMillan, Robert W., A Study of the Effect of Socioeconomic Factors on the School Achievement of Spanish-Speaking School Beginners, published dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, University of Texas, August 1966, p. 87.

59/ Op. cit., p. 19.

60/ McDowell, Neil A., A Study of the Academic Capabilities and Achievements of Three Ethnic Groups: Anglo, Negro and Spanish Surname, in San Antonio, Texas, published dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, University of Texas, August 1966, p. 143.

> The effects of poverty affecting the attitudes and conation levels of children may, indeed, have had a stronger influence on scholastic achievement than native intelligence. In this study, children who were ill-clothed, hungry, confused by the use of unfamiliar language, and limited in their associations with the world beyond their neighborhood were compared with children who had the advantage of cultural acceptance in addition to having few of the above disadvantages. Scholastic achievement under the foregoing varying conditions can be equated only with difficulty, if at all.

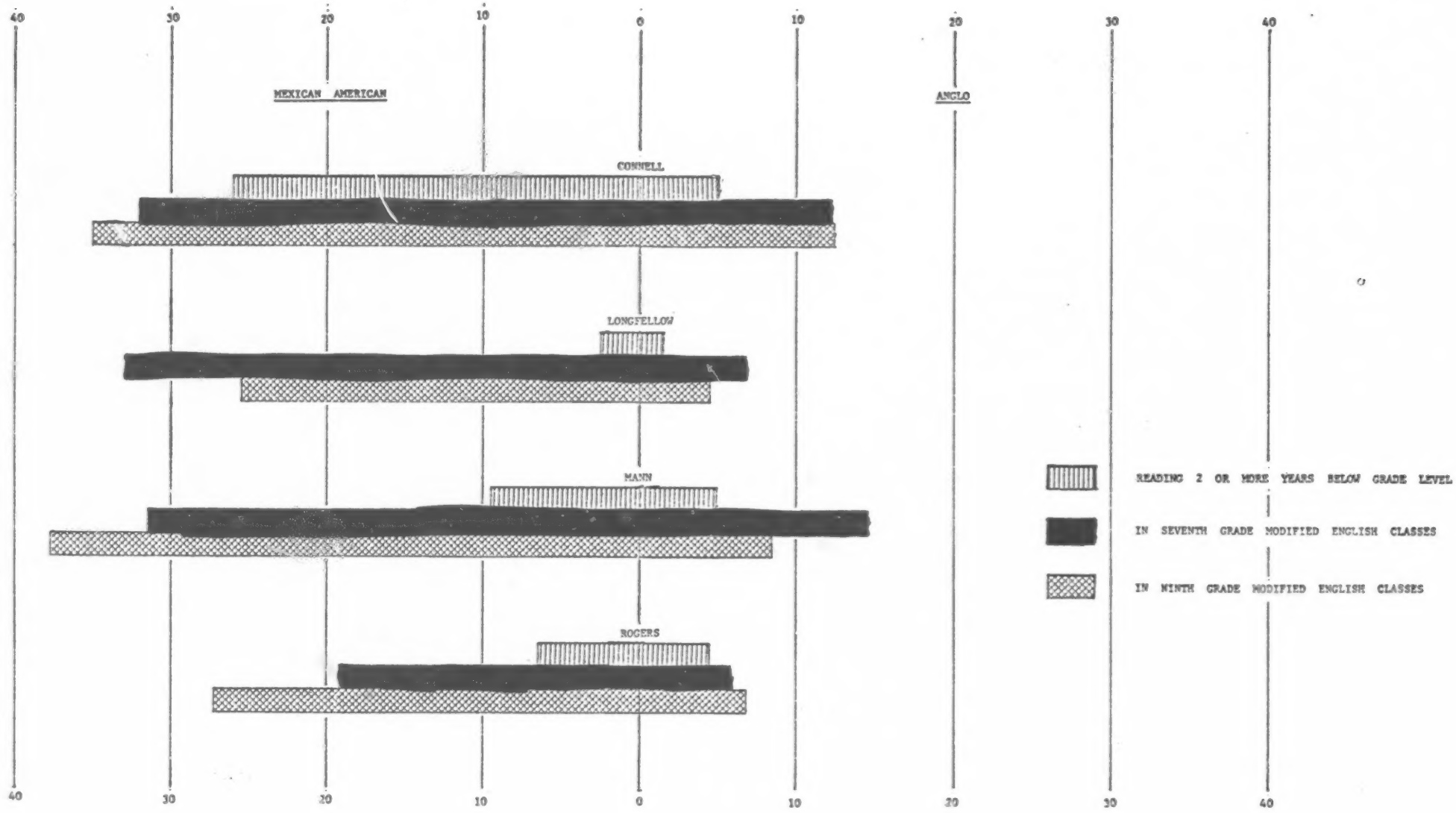
It might, therefore, be concluded that those responsible for determining ability group placement must exercise great care not to misjudge the capabilities of a child with cultural and linguistic differences, a misjudgment which could lead to the undereducation of that child.

A sampling taken at the seventh and ninth grades in seven of SAISD's 22 junior high schools 61/ shows taht a higher percentage of Mexican Americans are placed in modified than in accelerated English and Social Studies classes in these seven schools. Conversely, proportionately more Anglo students at these two grade levels are in accelerated than in modified classes. (Tables 14 and 15)

Reading achievement levels of Mexican Americans in the two Anglo and the two ethnically balanced junior high schools suggest that it is not necessarily warranted that a disproportionate number of them be grouped in modified English classes. For example, at Longfellow it appears that four times more Anglo seventh graders are in modified English classes than are reading two or more years below grade level, but almost fourteen times more Mexican American seventh graders are in such classes than are reading two or more years below grade level. (Figure 10)

61/ Rhodes (99.2 percent Mexican American in the 1968-69 school year); Cooper (99.5 percent Mexican American); Lanier (97.5 percent Mexican American); Longfellow (65.8 percent Anglo, 34 percent Mexican American); Mann (36.1 percent Anglo, 59.6 percent Mexican American); Connell (79.9 percent Anglo, 19.8 percent Mexican American); and Rogers (82.7 percent Anglo, 16.5 percent Mexican American). Information on ability grouping was provided by SAISD on November 1, 1968 in response to a request supplementary to the USCCR questionnaire.

FIGURE 10. COMPARISON OF MEXICAN AMERICAN AND ANGLO STUDENTS IN READING ABILITY AND ABILITY GROUP PLACEMENT IN FOUR JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOLS, SAN ANTONIO INDEPENDENT SCHOOL DISTRICT



SOURCES: DATA ON READING LEVEL TAKEN FROM USCCR QUESTIONNAIRE, DATED OCTOBER 1968; ADDITIONAL DATA ON ABILITY GROUPING FURNISHED BY SAN ANTONIO INDEPENDENT SCHOOL DISTRICT IN NOVEMBER 1968.

TABLE 14. ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION IN ACCELERATED AND MODIFIED ABILITY GROUPS
SEVENTH GRADE 1968/69

School	ACCELERATED				MODIFIED			
	Anglo		Mexican American		Anglo		Mexican American	
	Number	Percent of Anglo Seventh Graders	Number	Percent of Mexican American 7th Graders	Number	Percent of Anglo Seventh Graders	Number	Percent of Mexican American 7th Graders
Rhodes Junior High								
English	(a)		79	18.9	(a)		96	22.9
Social Studies	(a)		80	19.1	(a)		101	24.1
Cooper Junior High								
English	(a)		115	23.1	(a)		183	36.8
Social Studies	(a)		116	23.3	(a)		181	36.4
Longfellow Junior High								
English	79	29.9	6	4.5	18	6.8	43	32.8
Social Studies	80	30.3	4	3.1	19	7.1	42	32.1
Mann Junior High								
English	23	20.9	10	5.3	16	14.5	59	31.4
Social Studies	22	20.0	10	5.3	16	14.5	59	31.4
Connell Junior High								
English	97	38.2	5	5.7	31	12.2	28	32.2
Social Studies	93	36.6	6	6.9	29	11.4	27	31.0
Rogers Junior High								
English	101	32.4	11	14.1	18	5.7	15	19.2
Social Studies	83	26.6	8	10.3	16	5.1	19	24.4
Lanier Jr.-Sr. High								
English	None		None		1	25.0	148	51.2
Social Studies	None		None		1	25.0	178	61.6

(a). There are only four Anglos in a total enrollment of 1,163 at Rhodes and one Anglo in a total enrollment of 1,274 at Cooper.

Source: Data on ability grouping provided in November 1968 by SAISD supplementary to that furnished on the USCCR Questionnaire.

Table 15 ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION IN ACCELERATED AND MODIFIED ABILITY GROUPS
NINTH GRADE 1968/69

Junior High Schools	Accelerated				Modified			
	Anglo		Mexican American		Anglo		Mexican American	
	Number	Percent of Anglo Ninth Graders	Number	Percent of Mexican American 9th Graders	Number	Percent of Anglo Ninth Graders	Number	Percent of Mexican American 9th Graders
1. Rhodes								
English	(a)		77	22.6	(a)		85	24.9
Social Studies	None		None		None		None	
2. Cooper								
English	(a)		57	17.4	(a)		111	33.8
Social Studies	(a)		57	17.4	None		None	
3. Longfellow								
English	70	26.3	7	5.1	12	4.5	35	25.4
Social Studies	106	39.9	12	8.7	None		None	
4. Mann								
English	23	19.8	0	0	10	8.6	71	37.8
Social Studies	None		None		None		None	
5. Connell								
English	110	36.7	9	16.7	37	12.3	19	35.2
Social Studies	123	41.0	8	14.8	None		None	
6. Rogers								
English	97	28.5	8	14.5	23	6.8	15	27.3
Social Studies	32	9.4	2	3.6	None		None	
7. Lanier								
English	None		None		3	37.5	176	77.9
Social Studies	None		None		None		None	

(a) There are only 4 Anglos in a total enrollment of 1,163 at Rhodes, and one Anglo in a total enrollment of 1,274 at Cooper.

Source: Data ability grouping provided in November 1968 by SAISD supplementary to that furnished on the USCCR Questionnaire.

D. Guidance into College and Non-college Preparatory Classes

Vocational Guidance. As indicated in the earlier discussion of ethnic imbalance in the student enrollment in San Antonio ISD schools, the majority of Mexican American junior high school students select a senior high school similar in ethnic composition to the junior high school they have attended, although a freedom of choice plan rather than neighborhood attendance zoning, is operative at the senior high school level. In that discussion, the degree of freedom which the student actually exercises was questioned in light of suggestions by several school officials that some counselors direct Mexican American students toward high schools which place greater emphasis on a vocational curriculum. A few officials at predominantly Mexican American junior high schools also indicated that staffs from senior high schools which are primarily vocational in character, such as Fox Technical and Vocational, recruit in the junior high schools from which traditionally the greatest number of students have come, but do not visit other junior high schools with chiefly Anglo enrollment which are essentially feeder schools for predominantly Anglo senior highs.

In the 1967/68 academic year approximately 57.9 percent 62/ of the total senior high enrollment was Mexican American but Mexican Americans constituted 82 percent 63/of senior high students enrolled in vocational classes. Proportionately more students were enrolled in vocational classes in those high schools in which the majority ethnic group was Mexican American. For example, 20.4 percent and 28.5 percent of the students at Burbank and Fox Technical respectively were in vocational classes, while 6.1 percent and 1.7 percent of youngsters at Edison and Highlands respectively availed themselves of vocational education offerings (Table 16).

A wider variety of vocational courses are offered at the traditionally Mexican American senior high schools. While Fox Technical, Burbank Vocational, Lanier and Brackenridge offered between eight and ten different vocational courses, predominantly Anglo Edison offered a selection of three and Highlands had only one vocational course in the 1967/68 school term. 64/

62/ This does not include the ethnic composition of the Houston Senior High enrollment for 1967/68 which was not reported to the Office of Civil Rights, Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

63/ The ethnic breakdown of students enrolled in vocational classes in each senior high during school year 1967/68 was provided by the Director of Vocational Education, San Antonio Independent School District.

64/ Bulletin issued at Irving Junior High (SAISD) entitled "Vocational Training Taught in Our San Antonio High Schools."

In 1967/68 Fox Technical was 96.2 percent Mexican American, Burbank Vocational 86.9 percent, Lanier 98.2 percent and Brackenridge 66.1 percent Mexican American. Edison's enrollment was 71.8 percent Anglo and Highland's 74.8 percent Anglo.

Table 16

Vocational Classes
in
San Antonio Independent School District 1967-68

Schools	Total Number Students in Department	No. Anglo	No. Latin	No. Negro
Brackenridge High School	281	10	251	20
% By Race		4%	89%	7%
Burbank High School	466	81	385	0
% By Race		17%	83%	0
Edison High School	95	75	19	1
% By Race		79%	20%	1%
Fox Voc. & Tech. School	680	3	665	12
% By Race		.004%	97.7%	.017%
Highlands High School	46	33	10	3
% By Race		72%	22%	6%
Sam Houston High School	35	28	6	1
% By Race		80%	17%	3%
Lanier High School	314	0	314	0
% By Race			100%	
Wheatley High School	104	0	1	103
% By Race			1%	99%
Total No. of Voc. Students In All San Antonio Schools Combined	2021	230	1651	140
Approx. % By Race		11%	82%	7%

SOURCE: Table provided by the Director of Vocational Education, San Antonio Independent School District

Jefferson Senior High had no vocational program.

College Preparatory Courses: Enrollment and Effectiveness. The ethnic composition of college preparatory classes offered in SAISD secondary schools appears to be underrepresentative of the Mexican American senior high school enrollments, as indicated by a sampling of certain academic courses being taught at Lanier, Jefferson and Highlands during the current school year. 65/ The ethnic distribution of students at Jefferson and Highlands enrolled in Geometry and Algebra II is closest to the ethnic composition of the total enrollment. In the more specialized subjects generally offered as electives to the college-bound student, the Mexican American representation is from 14.5 to 24.1 percent below the 42.2 average percent in total enrollment at Jefferson and from 6.6 to 10.4 percent below the 16.8 average percent in Highlands.

There are proportionately fewer Mexican Americans in college preparatory classes at Lanier Junior-Senior High (grades ten through twelve only) than at the other two senior high schools. Although there are about twenty percent more Mexican American students at grades ten through twelve in Lanier (1563) than in Jefferson (1295), consistently there are considerably more Mexican Americans at Jefferson enrolled in the sampled courses.

Comparison between Jefferson and Lanier Senior Highs of Mexican American Enrollment in Selected College Preparatory Classes

Subject	Number of Mexican Americans Enrolled-Jefferson	Percentage Greater Than Number Enrolled At Lanier	Number of Mexican Americans Enrolled-Lanier
Geometry	255	148	103
Algebra II	163	220	51
Trigonometry	49	600	7
Physics	21	133	9
Chemistry	108	163	41

65/ Data provided by SAISD separate from the USCCR questionnaire. Courses included in the sampling were Geometry, Algebra II, Trigonometry, Biology II, Chemistry and Physics.

The effectiveness of the three senior high schools -- Lanier, Jefferson and Highlands -- in preparing their college-bound students for more challenging university curricula is highly disparate, as measured by scores of their graduating students on the American College Test (ACT). 66/ An in-school curve is drawn, separate for boys and girls, in such fashion that at least a handful of students from each school will fall in the ninety-ninth percentile. Consequently, a student in one school who tests in the high percentile range may have a raw score equivalency which would place him in the average to below average percentile range in another school. 67/

Thus, Lanier boys, taking the American College Test administered in the Spring of 1967, who ranked in the ninety-ninth percentile on the Lanier in-school curve earned the same raw score as those boys who fell in the seventy-second percentile at Jefferson and the eightieth at Highlands.

The disparity of equivalency of in-school percentile rankings widens rapidly in the descending ranges. A 67 percentile score by Lanier male college aspirants is equivalent only to the fourteenth percentile at Jefferson and the twenty-fifth at Highlands. Whether such aspirants gained admission to college and, if so, have mastered college-level work is unknown. The possibilities seem small that many have succeeded.

Comparison of In-School Percentile 68/ Rankings in
The American College Test

Percentile Ranking	Equivalent Percentile	
Lanier	Jefferson	Highlands
Boys		
99	72	80
95	54	65
90	32	47
81	23	26
75	18	31
67	14	25
Girls		
98	68	78
94	47	60
91	40	54
88	32	47
73	16	27
64	13	21

66/ Results of the American College Test administered in the Spring of 1967 were made available by the San Antonio ISD separate from data provided on the USCCR questionnaire.

67/ The ACT test scale ranges from 1 to 36 points. Based upon the number of children scoring at each point level, a percentile ranking is designated for each raw score point.

68/ See Appendices C and D for full percentile range comparisons between the three schools.

E. In-grade Retention and Educable Mental Retardates 69/

A much larger percentage of Mexican Americans than Anglos are retained in grade (i.e., not promoted) at the elementary level in all nine school districts. The disparity is greater in the predominantly Anglo school districts. Thus, in Edgewood the Mexican American percent of retentions is approximately equal to the Mexican American percent of total enrollment. In North East, it is three times higher and in Alamo Heights, nearly four times higher.

Distribution of Students Retained in Elementary Grades in Selected School Districts: 1967/68

District	Total*	Number of In-grade Retentions		% of Retentions		%Mexican American enrollment to total district enrollment
		Mexican American	Anglo	Mexican American	Anglo	
Alamo Heights	49	29	20	59.2	40.8	14.1
Edgewood	641	572	26	89.2	4.1	89.4
Harlandale	229	168	61	73.4	26.6	61.7
North East	203	45	158	22.2	77.8	7.4
San Antonio	1403	1032	192	73.6	13.7	58.2

Source: USCCR Questionnaire, Oct. 1968 */Includes all ethnic groups

In all districts except Harlandale, there are proportionately more Mexican Americans in EMR classes than their share of the total school population (Table 17). This imbalance is particularly obvious in Alamo Heights where the Anglo enrollment is six times the size of the Mexican American enrollment, yet Mexican Americans outnumber Anglos in EMR classes by three to two. There is also a sizeable disparity in South San Antonio where Mexican Americans comprise 59.5 percent of the total district enrollment but 85.3 percent of those in EMR classes.

There are some indications that Mexican American students who may not necessarily be mentally retarded have been placed in EMR classes. Although only children with IQs of 50 to 70 are considered educable

69/ The Texas Education Agency's State Plan for Special Education (Austin, Texas, November 1965) defines educable mentally retarded children as those whose intelligence quotients are approximately 50 to 70.

TABLE 17. ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF EDUCABLE MENTALLY RETARDED CLASSES, SEVEN [1/] SCHOOL DISTRICTS: 1967-1968

District	Total	Mexican-American Number	Mexican-American Percent of Total	Anglos Number	Anglos Percent of Total	Negroes Number	Negroes Percent of Total	Others Numbers	Percent of District Enrollment Mexican American
Alamo Heights	87	53	60.9	34	39.1	--	--	--	14.1
Edgewood	345	328	95.1	11	3.2	6	1.7	--	89.4
Harlandale	412	224	54.4	188	45.6	--	--	--	61.7
North East	158	27	17.1	129	81.6	1	0.6	1	7.4
Northside	429	118	27.5	293	68.3	18	4.2	--	16.1
San Antonio	914	615	67.3	138	15.1	160	17.5	1	58.2
South San Antonio	143	122	85.3	20	14.0	1	0.7	--	59.5
TOTALS	2488	1487	59.8	813	32.7	186	7.5	2	49.1

1/ Only a small number of EMRs are enrolled in special education classes in East Central and Southwest school districts.

Source: USCCR Questionnaire, October, 1968.

mental retardates by Texas State criteria, in exceptional circumstances the Texas Education Agency does permit school districts to place pupils with an IQ varying between 70 and 75 in EMR classes. 70/ According to one State education official, these guidelines mean only that State funds cannot be used to educate children with IQs above 75. 71/ In actual practice if a school district is willing to pay it may place as many students in EMR classes as it desires. 72/ In South San Antonio School District, where 85 percent of all EMR enrollees are Mexican Americans, a school official admitted that the inability of some Spanish-speaking children to speak or understand English has caused a small number of them to be placed in EMR classes.73/

In a study supported by the Public Health Service, Mercer 74/ found that retention in grade is one step which most children pass through in the process of eventual classification as an educable mental retardate (EMR). She further found that:

> ...at every stage in the labelling process, a child of Spanish surname is exposed to a higher probability of going onto the next stage in the process than an English speaking Caucasian child or a Negro child. Those children most likely to complete the sequence are those who have many academic problems, come from homes where little English is spoken, and have difficulty communicating in English.

70/ Loc. cit., State Plan for Special Education, pp. 10-11. Before a child may be placed in an EMR class the school district, among other things, must obtain a written comprehensive psychological report signed by an examiner and a physician's written report of medical evaluation.

71/ USCCR interview, with Dan Partridge, Educational Program Director, Special Education Programs, TEA, Sept. 25, 1968.

72/ Ibid.

73/ USCCR interview, with W. A. Coleman, Special Education Division, South San Antonio ISD, Sept. 27, 1968.

74/ Mercer, Jane R., "Sociological Perspectives on Mild Mental Retardation," paper delivered at the Inaugural Peabody - NIMH Conference on Socio-Cultural Aspects of Mental Retardation, Nashville, Tennessee, June 9-12, 1968.

Mercer concluded 75/ that for persons who show clear evidence of organic damage or pathology, medical criteria provide an adequate frame of reference and basis for classifying students as educable mental retardates. She, however, proposed that:

> From a social system perspective, mental retardation is not viewed as individual pathology but as a status which an individual holds in a particular social system and a role which he plays as an occupant of that status. In this context, mental retardation is not characteristic of the individual, but rather, a description of an individual's location in a social system, the role he is expected to play in the system, and the expectations which others in the system will have for his behavior. Mental retardation is an achieved status.

75/ Ibid. p. 12.

F. Dropouts

A measure of the failure of the San Antonio area school districts adequately to educate the Mexican American child is the large number of children who drop out before completing their education. The Governor's Committee Report documents that throughout Texas, Mexican Americans have a higher dropout rate and drop out earlier than Anglos and Negroes. 76/ The dropout rate (grades 7-12) for the entire State was 23 percent in 1966/67. For Mexican Americans it was 34 percent. For Anglos and Negroes it was considerably lower at 19 and 27 percent, respectively. Statewide, approximately 57 percent of all Mexican Americans who dropped out of school in grades 7 through 12 did so before the tenth grade, compared to 35 percent of the Negro dropouts and only 27 percent of the Anglo dropouts.

In the nine selected districts by far the largest number of dropouts were recorded in those districts with the highest percentage of Mexican Americans. 77/ San Antonio and Edgewood combined accounted for more than 77 percent of all dropouts although they contained but 57 percent of the total student enrollment. In the Anglo districts of North East and Northside the combined total of dropouts represented only 11 percent of the dropouts in the nine districts although North East and Northside have 24 percent of the total enrollment.

In all cases the proportion of Mexican Americans who dropped out was higher than their share of the school population (Table 18). Of particular interest is Northside where Mexican Americans constituted only 16 percent of the enrollment but 43 percent of all the dropouts.

Mexican Americans in the San Antonio area drop out of school earlier than either Anglos or Negroes. Forty (40) percent of the Mexican Americans who dropped out in grades 7 through 12 in the nine districts did so in grades 7 through 9 compared to 28 percent of all Anglo dropouts and 26 percent of all Negro dropouts.

In SAISD, one-third of all Mexican Americans who dropped out in grades 7 through 12 did so before the tenth grade. The three high schools in SAISD with the highest dropout rates were Brackenridge (dropout rate: 11.7 percent) and Lanier (8.8 percent), both with high Mexican American enrollments, and Wheatley (10.5 percent), with a student body almost entirely Negro. At the same time, the schools in middle-class Anglo areas with a reputation for quality education, i.e. Jefferson and Highlands, had dropout rates of 0.6 percent and 4.0 percent respectively.

76/ Governor's Committee Report, op. cit., p. 38.
77/ These dropout figures include only those students classified as dropouts by the nine school districts in the USCCR questionnaire, October 1968.

TABLE 18 ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION OF DROPOUTS, GRADES 7 THROUGH 12. 1967/68

District	Total Dropouts	MEXICAN AMERICAN Number of Dropouts	MEXICAN AMERICAN Percent of Dropouts in District	A N G L O Number of Dropouts	A N G L O Percent of Dropouts in District	N E G R O Number of Dropouts	N E G R O Percent of Dropouts in District	Mexican Americans as a Percent of Total Enrollment in District
Alamo Heights	39	10	25.6	29	74.4	--	--	14.1
Edgewood	542	516	95.2	2	0.4	24	4.4	89.4
Northside	68	29	42.6	37	54.4	2	3.0	16.1
Harlandale	178	148	50.5	145	49.5	--	--	61.7
South San Antonio	73	53	72.6	20	27.4	--	--	59.5
San Antonio	1,371	849	61.9	293	21.4	229	16.7	58.2
North East	213	17	8.0	196	92.0	--	--	7.4
TOTAL	2,484	1,622	65.3	722	29.1	255	10.3	

Source: USCCR Questionnaire, October 1968.

Note: East Central and Southwest have comparatively few dropouts and, therefore, were not included in this table.

1/ Does not include dropouts at McCollum High School
2/ Does not include dropouts at Dwight Junior High School

Edgewood, of all school districts in the San Antonio area, proportionately has the most severe dropout problem. In 1967/68 there were a total of about 1,100 78/dropouts in all of the district schools, elementary as well as secondary, or about 5.3 percent of the total student enrollment. At the first grade level one-third of the students who dropped out were overage (eight years old and above). (One first grade dropout was 12 years old.) At the third grade level, 42 percent of all students who dropped out were 10 years old and above. By ninth grade, nearly four-fifths of all dropouts were overage (16 years or older). A total of 178 (16 percent of all dropouts) were 18 and 19-year olds. The highest dropout frequency (46 percent) occurred among the 15 to 17-year olds, most of whom were in grades 8 through 10.

While the largest attrition occurred at the secondary level, 329 elementary school children (2.5 percent of elementary enrollment) dropped out in 1967/68, accounting for 30 percent of all dropouts. About one third of these were concentrated in two schools, Gardendale and Coronado, while slightly more than one-third came from Williams, Frey and Loma Park. Four elementary schools had a total of less than 10 dropouts, while three had none at all. 79/

Forty percent of all dropouts were at the junior high level. Of these, 53 percent came from Escobar Junior High School. The rest of the dropouts, 31 percent, were at the senior high level, of which almost 60 percent came from Edgewood High School.

78/ Figures on dropouts contained in this analysis were obtained from an unpublished paper entitled "Withdrawals and Dropout Survey Recapitulation, September 1967 through May 1968" compiled by Mr. Joseph Leyva, formerly Assistant Superintendent for Pupil Services, now Acting Superintendent of Edgewood School District. Dropout figures in this document are much higher than dropout figures obtained from Edgewood school officials in the USCCR questionnaire. Reasons for the discrepancy are not known precisely. A part of the difference is accounted for by the inclusion of dropout data for grades one through four in Mr. Leyva's report.

79/ Comparable data concerning elementary dropouts are not available for other school districts. The USCCR questionnaire requested dropout data for only the fifth through the 12th drades. In none of the districts, except Edgewood, was any dropout data recorded for elementary classes.

In addition to the large number of students who dropped out of Edgewood schools, a much larger segment of students who left school were classified as withdrawals. 80/ In the 1967/68 school year more than 2,500 pupils, or more than 11 percent of the enrollment, withdrew from the Edgewood school system. The heaviest exodus occurred at the elementary level where nearly three fifths (1,600 pupils) of all withdrawals occurred. 81/ Close to 400 pupils or 12 percent of all withdrawals took place in the first grade. As with dropouts, withdrawals at the junior high level were heavy, accounting for more than 25 percent of all departures of this type. Escobar Junior High had the largest number. Over 53 percent of all withdrawals at the junior high level came from this one school. Less than 10 percent of the withdrawals occurred at the senior high level. Edgewood High accounted for nearly 60 percent of those departing at this level.

80/ Mr. Leyva classified withdrawals as those students who left the school system because they moved, transferred to another school, became ill, or travelled with their families as migrants. Because the reason for withdrawals is proferred by the student or his family, it seems likely that at least some of those classified as "withdrawals" are, in reality, dropouts. Therefore, the discussion in the text above regarding the serious dropout problem may be somewhat understated.

81/ More than 90 percent of these withdrawals were Mexican Americans.

VI. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study of nine school districts in the San Antonio area has demonstrated the existence of ethnic isolation, and inequalities of educational opportunity for the Mexican American student.

Mexican American students are ethnically isolated by school districts, by schools within individual districts, by ability grouping within schools and by selection of vocational rather than academic programs. The Mexican American student population of the San Antonio area is concentrated in four of the nine school districts. In San Antonio ISD, 61 percent of the Mexican American student population is isolated in schools which are 80 to 100 percent Mexican American. Mexican Americans attending schools with substantial Anglo enrollment are apt again to be separated from fellow Anglo students through placement in classes for slow learners or through their choice or guidance into a vocational rather than an academic curriculum.

School administration in the area is Anglo controlled. With the exception of Edgewood and South San Antonio, Anglos dominate the Boards of Trustees. All but one of the superintendents are Anglo, and the Anglo presence predominates at the individual school administrative and teaching staff level. Ethnic separation prevails at this level as well as among the students. Most Mexican American principals, vice-principals, and teachers are assigned to Mexican American schools.

Lower per pupil expenditures in districts of predominantly Mexican American enrollment coincide with taxable assessed property values which are so low that even appreciably higher tax rates do not result in locally raised revenue equivalent to that of Anglo districts. Although State and Federal aid comprise a greater proportion of total revenue in Mexican American districts, per pupil expenditures are not equalized with those in Anglo districts. In at least one case (Edgewood) an exceedingly poor Mexican American district actually receives less State aid per pupil than a substantially wealthier Anglo district (North East).

Disparities in local financial capability are reflected in disparities in adequacy of school facilities and the quality of teachers. Mexican American schools generally are physically inferior to Anglo schools. Edgewood schools, although of more recent construction than those in Alamo Heights, have cramped classrooms and less acreage per site. In San Antonio ISD the Mexican American schools are older, smaller in acreage and contain many more students per acre than Anglo schools.

Because Mexican American districts are financially less capable of supplementing the State-supported minimum salary schedule, they are forced to offer salaries which are not competitive with those offered by Anglo districts. As a result, 89 percent of the non-college degree teachers employed in the nine districts are concentrated in the predominantly Mexican American districts.

Inequalities of educational opportunity are reflected in achievement levels of Mexican American children, which are below those for Anglo youngsters. Many Mexican American students come from low-income families in which Spanish is the primary language of communication. They perform less well on verbal-oriented IQ and achievement tests given in English, which may not validly reflect their true potential. Teachers and school administrators who interpret their test scores appear to assign them to classes for underachievers or to counsel them away from a college preparatory curriculum more often than they do Anglos who may be at comparable achievement levels.

Regardless of the ethnic composition of the schools they attend, Mexican Americans are more likely to drop out of school than are the Anglo children. If they attend schools in a high density area of Mexican American population, such as Edgewood, the probabilities they will drop out are greater than they are for the more fortunate Mexican American youngsters enrolled in North East or Alamo Heights ISD schools.

In August 1968, the Governor's Committee on Public School Education published a report which confronted the people of Texas with many of the State's educational problems and made recommendations for the future. The Governor's Committee pointed out that Texas ranked 31st among the states in terms of median level of education, and 42nd in high school graduation rates and that the level of education and graduation rates of Mexican Americans was significantly lower than that of Anglos.

The Committee disclosed that Texas ranks eighth among the states in per capita property valuations, yet 39th in percent of those values devoted annually to public education. It noted that the shortage of qualified teachers affected most seriously a relatively small number of school districts, most of which had a high proportion of Mexican American enrollment. The Committee, however, did not examine the basic causes of the marked differences in achievement, dropout rates and educational attainment between Texas' Mexican American s and Anglos. Neither the Governor's Committee nor this paper gave extensive consideration to whether attitudes, overt or covert, instilled within individuals of whatever ethnicity, construct a system which manifests built-in educational disparities.

APPENDIX TABLE A SCHOOL ENROLLMENT SAN ANTONIO INDEPENDENT SCHOOL DISTRICT BY ETHNIC AND RACIAL COMPOSITION, ALL LEVELS, 1968/69

School Name Elementary Schools	Anglo		Mexican-American		Negro		Other	Total Enrollment
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	
Arnold	295	78.9	77	20.6	0	--	2	374
Austin	49	13.1	311	83.2	7	1.9	7	374
Ball	368	70.4	152	29.1	1	0.2	2	523
Barkley	11	1.6	698	98.4	0	--	0	709
Baskin	395	81.4	84	17.3	0	--	6	485
Beacon Hill	85	18.2	363	77.9	16	3.4	2	466
Bonham	50	11.2	389	87.0	6	1.3	2	447
Bowie	30	3.6	780	93.5	21	2.5	3	834
Brackenridge	5	0.4	1179	98.3	16	1.3	0	1200
Brewer	0	--	956	99.1	9	0.9	0	965
Briscoe	27	4.5	575	95.2	0	--	2	604
Burnet	54	7.7	493	70.4	153	21.9	0	700
Cameron	0	--	2	1.0	201	99.0	0	203
Carvajal	34	4.1	787	95.9	0	--	0	821
Collins Garden	94	10.0	841	89.8	0	--	2	937
Cotton	141	29.8	330	69.8	2	0.4	0	473
Crockett	38	3.6	1019	96.4	0	--	0	1057
Cuney	0	--	2	0.4	501	99.6	0	503
Davis (1-6)	180	89.1	11	5.4	11	5.4	0	202
De Zavala	14	2.0	678	98.0	0	--	0	692
Fannin	2	0.5	122	27.7	316	71.8	0	440
Fenwick	57	13.5	361	85.3	5	1.2	0	423
Forbes	245	63.5	127	32.9	12	3.1	2	386
Foster	499	77.1	131	20.2	17	2.6	0	647
Franklin	247	59.8	164	39.7	1	0.2	1	413
Gates	0	--	25	2.4	1009	97.6	0	1034
Gonzales	28	26.4	76	71.7	0	--	2	106
Graebner	171	16.7	848	83.0	1	0.1	2	1022
Grant	0	--	14	2.9	469	97.1	0	483
Green	56	23.6	179	75.5	2	0.8	0	237
Herff	13	3.2	249	60.4	147	35.7	3	412
Hidalgo	0	--	191	75.2	63	24.8	0	254

School Name Elementary Schools	Anglo		Mexican-American		Negro		Other	Total Enrollment
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	
Highland Hills	741	92.9	52	6.5	4	0.5	1	798
Highland Park	227	36.5	364	58.5	24	3.9	7	622
Hillcrest	72	8.5	768	91.0	0	---	4	844
Hirsch	599	84.4	107	15.1	4	0.6	0	710
Hood	15	4.3	329	95.4	1	0.3	0	345
Huppertz	163	24.8	490	74.5	3	0.5	2	658
Ivanhoe	13	2.0	650	98.0	0	--	0	663
Japhet	54	30.0	111	61.7	15	8.3	0	180
Johnson	22	3.4	631	96.6	0	--	0	653
Kelly	98	19.4	403	79.6	5	1.0	0	506
King	54	5.1	1000	94.0	8	.8	2	1064
Knox	9	3.5	250	96.5	0	0	0	259
Lamar	154	65.0	79	33.3	3	1.3	1	237
Lee	54	8.2	385	58.7	217	33.1	0	656
Madison	293	44.0	372	55.9	1	.2	0	666
Margil	0	0	624	98.6	8	1.3	1	633
Maverick	351	69.1	152	29.9	0	0	5	508
McKinley	26	21.3	95	77.9	1	.8	0	122
Milan	89	27.1	234	71.3	4	1.2	1	328
Miller	0	0	34	4.0	810	96.0	0	844
Navarro	25	5.5	424	92.8	8	1.8	0	457
Neal	235	53.3	205	46.5	0	0	1	441
Nelson	11	2.4	254	53.9	206	43.7	0	471
Ogden	63	5.9	994	92.5	18	1.7	0	1075
Pershing	35	4.7	258	34.5	453	60.6	1	747
Pfeiffer	257	74.9	65	19.0	9	2.6	12	343
Riverside Park	137	27.0	370	73.0	0	0	0	507
Will Rogers	251	54.1	212	45.7	0	0	1	464
Francisco Ruiz	10	1.5	636	98.5		-	0	646
Kate S. Schenck	936	86.3	147	13.6	1	0.1	0	1084
Smith	22	2.5	463	52.3	400	45.2	0	885
Laura Steele	241	64.8	131	35.2	0	--	0	372

School Name Elementary Schools	Anglo No.	%	Mexican-American No.	%	Negro No	%	Other No	Total Enrollment
P.F. Stewart	154	20.1	398	51.8	211	27.5	5	768
Ollie Storm	37	3.4	1043	96.5	1	0.1	0	1081
William B. Travis	178	36.8	294	60.7	7	1.4	5	484
Sojourner Truth	0	--	104	82.5	22	17.5	0	126
Tynan	0	--	13	2.9	432	97.1	0	445
Booker T. Washington	0	--	2	0.3	746	99.7	0	748
W. W. White	533	78.6	132	19.5	7	1.0	6	678
Woodrow Wilson	163	38.4	261	61.6	0	--	0	424
Woodlawn	160	26.5	441	73.1	0	--	2	603
Woodlawn Hills	168	44.6	205	54.4	2	0.5	2	377
TOTAL	9838	22.9	26,396	61.5	6617	15.4	97	42,948

___ Represents zero percent

School Name	Anglo		Mexican-American		Negro		Other	Total Enrollment
Junior High	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	
Burbank (7-9)	73	8.9	744	91.0	--	--	1	818
Connell	840	79.9	208	19.8	2	0.2	1	1051
Cooper	1	0.1	1268	99.5	5	0.4	0	1274
Davis (7-9)	502	60.3	145	17.4	183	22.0	2	832
Douglass	0	-	2	0.5	363	99.5	0	365
Dunbar	0	-	5	2.5	199	97.5	0	204
Emerson	18	2.4	198	25.9	548	71.7	0	764
Harris	35	4.2	786	95.3	1	0.1	3	825
Hawthorne	172	29.8	358	61.9	45	7.8	3	578
Irving	37	2.5	1397	92.6	71	4.7	4	1509
Lanier(7-9)	19	2.5	730	97.5	--	--	--	749
Longfellow	796	65.8	411	34.0	2	0.2	0	1209
Lowell	275	26.3	746	71.3	24	2.3	2	1047
Mann	346	36.1	572	59.6	32	3.3	9	959
Page	216	22.5	726	75.5	19	2.0	-	961
Poe	34	4.0	310	36.3	508	59.4	1	855
Portwood	439	59.3	84	11.4	210	28.4	9	740
Rhodes	4	.3	1154	99.2	5	.4	0	1163
Riley	0	0	5	1.0	507	99.0	0	512
Rogers	935	82.7	187	16.5	6	.5	3	1131
Twain	329	34.6	570	60.0	48	5.1	3	950
Whittier	687	67.7	325	32.0	1	.1	2	1015
TOTAL	5758	29.5	10,931	56.0	2779	14.2	43	19,511

School Name Senior High	Anglo No.	Anglo %	Mexican-American No.	Mexican-American %	Negro No.	Negro %	Other No.	Total Enrollment
Brackenridge	99	4.8	1339	64.7	628	30.4	3	2069
Burbank (10-12)	235	15.2	1308	84.7	0	0	0	1544
Edison	1019	66.0	470	30.5	43	2.8	11	1543
Fox Voc. & Tech.	9	0.4	2306	97.8	43	1.8	0	2358
Highlands	1891	71.2	447	16.8	313	11.8	4	2655
Sam Houston	817	65.6	131	10.5	292	23.4	6	1246
Jefferson	1608	52.4	1295	42.2	116	3.8	47	3066
Lanier (10-12)	23	1.5	1563	98.3	4	0.2	0	1590
Wheatley	0	0	2	0.3	806	99.75	0	808
TOTAL	5701	33.8	8861	52.5	2245	13.3	72	16,879
Elementary	9838	22.9	26,396	61.5	6617	15.4	97	42,948
Junior	5758	29.5	10,931	56.0	2779	14.2	43	19,511
Senior	5701	33.8	8,861	52.5	2245	13.3	72	16,879
TOTALS	21,297	26.8	46,188	58.2	11,641	14.7	212	79,338

Ch.1

LAST NAME (PRINT) FIRST MIDDLE HIGH SCHOOL CHOICE

CHOICE SLIP

SAN ANTONIO INDEPENDENT SCHOOL DISTRICT

Pupil's Address _____

Telephone No. _____ RESIDENCE _____ BUSINESS

Parent or Guardian _____

School last attended _____ Grade _____

Subject	Level

Chron. Age ____ Years & Months ____

Days Absent _____ (this year) _____

I. Q. Score _____

Science Requirements Satisfied

(Circle One) Yes No

_____

PARENT OR GUARDIAN DATE

SHOP

1st Choice _____

2nd Choice _____

Student's likelihood of success in trade

_____

_____

ADVISER

58-28

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APPENDIX C

SAN ANTONIO INDEPENDENT
AMERICAN COLLEGE TEST RESULTS

BOYS

Test Scale	LANIER No. Students	LANIER Percentile Ranking	JEFFERSON No. Students	JEFFERSON Percentile Ranking	HIGHLANDS No. Students	HIGHLANDS Percentile Ranking
36	0	99	0	99	0	99
35	0	99	0	99	0	99
34	0	99	0	99	0	99
33	0	99	0	99	0	99
32	0	99	0	99	0	99
31	0	99	1	99	2	99
30	0	99	5	99	4	99
29	0	99	4	98	3	98
28	0	99	15	95	6	97
27	0	99	11	92	5	95
26	0	99	21	88	9	93
25	0	99	17	83	20	89
24	0	99	22	78	13	84
23	3	99	20	72	16	80
22	2	98	18	67	15	76
21	4	97	23	62	22	70
20	2	95	32	54	19	65
19	3	94	30	46	22	59
18	4	92	29	38	17	53
17	4	90	21	32	25	47
16	8	87	13	27	22	41
15	16	81	20	23	14	36
14	10	75	15	18	20	31
13	20	67	17	14	19	25
12	12	59	11	10	18	20
11	21	51	3	9	10	16
10	29	38	10	7	16	12
9	18	27	12	4	18	7
8	15	18	4	2	8	4
7	13	11	2	1	5	2
6	9	6	1	1	3	1
5	2	3	1	1	0	1
4	3	2	0	1	0	1
3	2	1	1	1	1	1
2	0	1	0	1	0	1
1	0	1	0	1	0	1

Test administered Spring 1967.

APPENDIX D
SAN ANTONIO INDEPENDENT
AMERICAN COLLEGE TEST RESULTS

GIRLS

	Lanier		Jefferson		Highlands	
Test Scale	No. Students	Percentile Ranking	No. Students	Percentile Ranking	No. Students	Percentile Ranking
36	0	99	0	99	0	99
35	0	99	0	99	0	99
34	0	99	0	99	0	99
33	0	99	0	99	0	99
32	0	99	2	99	0	99
31	0	99	0	99	0	99
30	0	99	2	99	0	99
29	0	99	3	99	1	99
28	0	99	6	98	6	99
27	0	99	6	96	7	97
26	0	99	18	93	5	95
25	0	99	14	90	5	94
24	0	99	26	85	19	91
23	1	99	17	80	10	87
22	2	99	28	75	17	83
21	2	98	26	68	19	78
20	1	97	36	61	27	71
19	0	97	28	54	18	65
18	8	94	26	47	19	60
17	4	91	36	40	25	54
16	6	88	29	32	23	47
15	5	85	22	26	32	39
14	6	82	22	21	17	32
13	25	73	20	16	18	27
12	7	64	10	13	25	21
11	16	57	15	10	15	16
10	15	48	13	6	21	11
9	13	40	6	4	10	6
8	12	33	4	3	5	4
7	18	25	6	2	5	3
6	14	15	3	1	4	1
5	12	8	1	1	1	1
4	5	3	1	1	0	1
3	1	1	0	1	2	1
2	2	1	0	1	0	1
1	0	1	0	1	0	1

Test administered in Spring 1967.

GSA DC 69-7902